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Socioeconomic Model for Arms Reduction Pondered

PM1509141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 First Edition p 4

[Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Kireyev article: "If Peace Were To Break Out... Reflections on Disarmament Economics"]

[Text] "...What would happen to our economy if peace were to suddenly break out?" Those words were spoken by U.S. politician A. Maccorquodale. They remain topical to this day. The transition from economics of armament to economics of disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union from the UN rostrum, demands the elaboration of a fundamentally new nonmilitarized model of the world economy and of a new mechanism for its functioning in conditions of disarmament.

The reality is that a large military sector has become an inalienable part of the economic system in capitalist, socialist, and many developing states. It provides jobs for millions of people, attracts a colossal scientific potential, and manufactures mountains of output which is unfortunately designed for destruction. But militarism, which was traditionally considered to be a means of reviving the economy, is now exhausting its dynamic internal reserves and is becoming more of a chain fettering economic development.

In years past we used to focus attention on this problem in Western countries but failed to perceive its emergence in our own country. The "gross output" approach toward defense building, the symmetrical response to U.S. actions, the cost-based mechanism of large-scale military production—all these could not have failed to burden our national economy.

The result was the development of a situation whereby the dismantling of the economy of war and the creation of an economy of peace evolved from a slogan into an imperative of economic development. Incidentally, it must also be borne in mind that, given the fact that the economic potential of Warsaw Pact Organization states is 2.5 times less than that of NATO countries, it is all the more complex to remain competitive in the production of costly arms. Disarmament economics has become not just a fresh avenue for science but also a sphere for activity by states striving to ease the military burden.

But what are the main avenues of this activity?

First and foremost—military budget cutbacks. The solution of this problem, which had been grandiloquently discussed for many years, moved to the practical plane only recently. This was promoted by the fact that the USSR made public the actual size and structure of its military budget in June 1989. More favorable conditions emerged to begin talks on mutual cutbacks in military budgets by the USSR and the United States and by Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO countries.

The main problem now is to develop technical-economic methods for comparing and reducing military expenditures. At present, for example, the conversion of the amount of Soviet military expenditure into dollars is rendered largely theoretical by differences in the price structure of military output, by the ruble's nonconvertibility, and the inadequacy of its official exchange rate in terms of hard currencies.

I think that a significant advance in this sphere will be achieved when the USSR joins the standard UN accounting system for military expenditure. It goes without saying that this will boost confidence in our peace initiatives. Given that the USSR has announced that it will join the system, this could prompt its substantial revision to ensure greater veracity and comparability of data supplied by the countries, as well as elaboration of methods to verify them on an agreed basis.

It is obvious that a reduction of expenditure on defense needs stimulates conversion—the switch of part of the military economic potential toward the solution of peaceful tasks; We have made major unilateral steps in this sphere—the military budget will be cut by 14.2 percent and the production of arms and military equipment by almost 20 percent. Some 345 plant and 200 scientific research institutes and design bureaus from defense industry sectors will be joining the civilian sector. We already have in operation programs covering the period 1989-1995 for boosting the production of equipment for the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex and for manufacturing new consumer goods at military enterprises. Decisions have also been made on the peaceful use of combat equipment falling within the scope of reductions and the employment of servicemen.

But we still seem to be somehow groping our way in the process of switching a proportion of military enterprises to the manufacture of civilian output: A statewide conversion plan has still not been elaborated. Enterprises losing defense orders find themselves in a difficult financial position in conditions of economic accountability. The costs of the simplest civilian output produced by them are often ten or more times higher than the current list prices; once high technology defense plants start producing consumer goods, they start losing their skilled work force.

Conversion presupposes that defense industry enterprises manufacture the civilian output which is most in line with their preconversion range, enjoys market demand, and ensures the maintenance of a sufficiently high profitability level and consequently the social level of their employees. What we call conversion is at times no such thing in the literal sense of the word: It is rather a decreed involvement of the defense sector in helping out the faltering civilian sectors without taking any special notice of the defense enterprises' interests.

Actions regardless of consequences can lead to demolition of prevailing production-technical ties and the swamping of technological islands in a vast sea of mediocrity. Scientists in the United States, Sweden, Norway, and some other Western countries have already drawn up statewide conversion plans. Many military enterprises have built models for their conversion in the event of defense order cutbacks, and there are broad discussions of problems associated with the employment of any redundant work force. This experience in planning and modeling conversion is undoubtedly of interest to us.

Conversion in one or several countries may fail to produce the desired result unless there is a rupture of international military-economic ties with other countries supplying arms or the technology and equipment for their manufacture. Cutbacks in national military production can be compensated by deliveries from abroad. Therefore the demilitarization of world economic ties is one of the components of disarmament economics.

This still remains one of several secret spheres in our country. As a matter of fact, the bulk of arms delivery deals are symmetrically reflected in Western statistics, whose data Soviet specialists are forced to use. Owing to the fact that we still do not publish data on the scale and the commodity and geographical structure of our arms sales and deliveries abroad, it is hard to raise the question of their reduction with Western partners, most of whom publish such statistics.

True enough, some steps forward have already been taken. The USSR has agreed to the idea, mooted for many years, of creating under UN auspices an international arms transmission register—a kind of database to store information on foreign military-economic ties. I think that the actual volume of sales and deliveries of Soviet arms abroad could be publicized in the very near future. Publication of data on the commodity and geographic structure of the arms trade will be necessary when the international arms transmission register starts operating.

The limitation and ultimate termination of international arms sales and deliveries is a highly complex matter since it involves not only economic but also political interests. Consequently, the demilitarization of international ties appears extremely difficult and even unlikely without radically improving the international situation, untangling the knots of the main regional conflicts, and eliminating seats of international tension.

In order to ensure that disarmament does not "devour" itself but results in a real release of resources, it is necessary to guarantee its economic efficiency, which could be defined as the correlation between expenditure on the implementation of disarmament and the resultant gain. It is perfectly obvious that expenditure on demilitarization will be considerable, since the arms race has gone beyond reasonable limits. Given that entire plants have to be built for the destruction of chemical weapons, it is easy to imagine the investment that would be required to, for example, reduce strategic offensive arms by one-half.

The interlinkage between disarmament and development is also perceived by us as a means for increasing aid to developing countries. This will certainly become possible primarily as a result of actual savings effected by Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO countries through disarmament. The transmission of resources to the "Third World" would be effected through a specially created "Disarmament for Development" international fund. The recipients of benefits from this fund could be the most backward countries as well as developing states which cut their arms and armed forces, are not involved in regional conflicts, and pursue a consistent peace-loving policy. Such a fund could operate under UN auspices and be managed by a UN organ like, for example, the Disarmament Conference.

I think that the time has come to begin a dialogue on all questions of disarmament economics, maybe within the framework of a world congress on economic security, or to raise them at a special meeting of top leaders from the permanent members of the UN Security Council, or perhaps even at an economic summit conference of the "Seven" if the Soviet Union were to take part in it in the future.

An important link in disarmament economics could be provided by the creation of sociopolitical—alongside military-political—guarantees for the maintenance of peace and security. They would include the social orientation of state budgets, increased civilian production at former defense industry enterprises, expansion of East-West economic cooperation, the unfolding of constructive North-South dialogue, and others. After all, the destruction of the material base of the policy of wars and confrontations is one of the most reliable guarantees of international security.

But while the full demilitarization of the world economy remains in the distant future, it is necessary to solve an immediate problem—to develop a scientifically substantiated economic model of the world in conditions of disarmament. In other words, to define a socioeconomic standard for which the international community would aim in its struggle for arms limitation and reduction.

It would seem possible that the ways and means of attaining the goals set by this model could be outlined in a Soviet socioeconomic program for disarmament, which would be a logical supplement to the military-political program in this sphere.

This would demand advance elaboration of national targeted action programs in individual spheres of disarmament economics, which we still lack. Meanwhile, the incipient process of disarmament is, in terms of its consequences, akin to a profound economic reform which can be implemented only subject to, in V.I. Lenin's words, a "unified economic plan."

Disarmament economics have activated massive productive forces and affect the future of millions of people associated with the defense industry sector. It is natural that they should receive clear-cut social guarantees from the state.

I believe that it is time for the Supreme Soviet to discuss the question of the need for legislative regulation of processes resulting from the effect of disarmament economics and to adopt appropriate laws in the nearer rather than the more distant future. It is possible to organize constructive collaboration and exchange of experience in this sphere with other countries' parliaments, since the problems of disarmament economics are largely universal.

Missile, Force Reduction Statistics Cited

LD1809193189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 18 Sep 89

[From "The World Today" Program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] In implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium and shorter-range missiles, both sides are consistently implementing this major agreement. A few days ago General Yazov, USSR defense minister, cited the following data in this respect: By mid-September we have eliminated 1259 missiles and 469 launchers. This is respectively 68 per cent and 57 per cent of their initial numbers. In its turn the United States has eliminated 372 missiles and 71 launchers, which is approximately 44 per cent and 25 per cent of their initial numbers.

I would also like to note that at the same time the Soviet Union is also unilaterally carrying out reductions in its armed forces and conventional arms. The strength of our army has already been reduced by nearly 150,000 men and more than 6500 tanks. Forty warships and about 600 military planes have been removed from the fighting strength.

Protest at Soviet Nuclear Test Site Allowed

LD1809151789 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Semipalatinsk September 18 TASS—A three-day international action of protest against underground nuclear explosions took place today on the bank of the Irtysh river. It was organized by activists of the "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" movement and the youth organisation "Next Stop Soviet". Representatives of 14 medical higher educational establishments of the country, including envoys from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, GDR and the United States, have gathered near the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground.

The local authorities have permtited the manifestation. Its participants had a meeting with Lieutenant-General A. Ilienko [name as received], chief of the testing ground, who replied to numerous questions put by the unusual guests.

Gerasimov Conducts 18 Sep News Briefing

Welcomes Inter-Korean Dialogue

LD1809140489 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—The Soviet Union regards Seoul's agreement to Pyongyang's proposal for resuming preparations for talks between the two prime ministers in Panmunjom on October 12 this year as a "positive step."

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, addressing newsmen at a briefing here today, said that the USSR welcomes any measures aimed at resolving outstanding problems at the negotiating table.

The resumption of contacts at government level would create a real basis for the advancement of the inter-Korean dialogue, the spokesman said.

Explains Closing of CW Destruction Plant

LD1809142689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—The closure of the works at Chapayevo (Volga region) does not mean the USSR has stopped destroying chemical weapons, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the information directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry said at a briefing held here today. What is now being brought to the fore, he said, is the drafting of a national program for the destruction of chemical weapons, a project that must be planned in conditions of glasnost, and democratization, taking account of the ecological aspect of the problem. The chemical weapons destruction works at Chapeyevo was built without due previous consultation with the local authorities and public. As a result, a situation of conflict arose over the works. Chapayevsk has been visited by several government commissions, and although they found the technology for destroying chemical weapons to be safe, it became necessary to make the decision not to open the works, and to change its use to being a center for instruction and training.

Criticizes Anti-Soviet Actions in Poland

LD1809144489 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—"While remembering the tragedy of the Second World War, it is necessary to strengthen and nurture everything that unites people and brings them closer together. This is the imperative of times," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a news briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov was asked by journalists to comment on the rallies and meetings held on September 17 outside the Soviet Embassy, consulates and other representations in some Polish cities: Katowice, Krakow and Warsaw. Taking part in these actions were extremist-minded groups, Gerasimov noted. Some slogans and streamers were insulting to the USSR. In particular, they drew a parallel between the aggression by Nazi Germany against Poland and Soviet actions taken on September 17, 1939. The extremists took a series of actions which posed a threat to the safety of Soviet staff.

In this connection, the Soviet spokesman recalled that Soviet evaluations of the events preceding the second world war were set out in detail at the official level and in the Soviet mass media.

"This is a diffuicult issue which calls for a comprehensive, all-rounded consideration, taking into account the international situation at that time," he stressed.

"Without concealing serious concern and while condemning the antisoviet demonstrations," Gerasimov continued, "We at the same time note that they have failed to find support of the population. The Soviet Union realises that the extremist elements in Poland do not reflect the true feelings of the Polish people, its striving towards good neighbourliness and cooperation with our people." He said the organisers of the provocations will not be able to do harm to the friendship and union of the two countries and peoples. Gerasimov also said he was convinced that the new Polish Government is aware of the importance of strengthening the all-round ties and interaction between the USSR and Poland.

Having reminded that the Soviet Union welcomed the statement by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the striving to preserve good neighbourly and friendly relations with the USSR, Gerasimov noted that "it also meets our intentions. The practical steps in this direction will be supported in every way by our side."

Defends Unilateral Force Reductions

LD1809162889 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, at a briefing here today expressed criticism over pronouncments of two U.S. experts on questions of arms control that THE WASHINGTON TIMES carried on Friday.

Gerasimov noted that American experts assert that contrary to official statements of the Soviet side on unilateral withdrawal of units and armaments from the territories of its allies and disbandment of units, military equipment is actually poured into reorganised units.

Gerasimov said these pronouncements are out of place at a time when the meeting of the USSR foreign minister with the U.S. secretary of state is drawing nearer, as that meeting is to discuss the entire range of questions of Soviet-American relations, including the development of the disarmament process. Gerasimov cited the information of the USSR Defence Ministry about progress of the country's unilateral reduction or armed forces as of September 15.

The spokesman, specifically, said that 24,509 personnel were withdrawn from the composition of groups of forces from the territories of USSR's Warsaw Treaty allies. As many as 2,714 tanks and 383 guns were withdrawn. As to aviation equipment, the total number of aircraft based in the territories of allies decreased by 277. As many as 500 warheads of tactical nuclear weapons will be removed by the end of the year.

Gerasimov said that some of the tanks being reduced are scrapped, while others are readjusted to serve as auxiliary equipment for the national economy. Artillery systems being withdrawn are brought for conservation to arms depots and storage bases, while obsolete systems are to be discarded. The planes being reduced are also discarded, with small number of them being remade to serve as targets for the training of personnel.

Gerasmiov said that the statements like those made by American experts mean an attempt of definite circles of the USA to call in question the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction of its armed forces, an attempt to play down their real importance and scale.

'Roundtable' Covers UNGA, NATO Maneuvers, Drugs

LD1709170989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 17 Sep 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Yuriy Isayev, foreign policy commentator of All-Union Radio, and Rudolf Kolchanov, deputy editor of TRUD; moderated by Gennadiy Vedenyapin, foreign policy commentator of All-Union Radio]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Hello comrades. As a rule, we discuss and analyze events of the past week in this Sunday program of ours. But this time I would like to break with this tradition and begin our conversation with a forthcoming event. The 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly opens in New York on 19 September—an event which rightly attracts attention as it will discuss the most wide-ranging spectrum of international problems and an event which, in my view, is all the more important as the past Congress of People's Deputies of our country has, as you know, determined the foundation on which the Soviet Union's foreign policy line will be based. In point of fact, a line has been drawn under the whole epoch of our notorious separation from the surrounding world and of, at times, even some hostility. Meanwhile, I recall that one of the provisions approved by the Congress of People's Deputies actually proclaims that our country's security will be guaranteed by political means, and I think that there is scarcely anyone who would deny that such an approach is indissolubly linked both with the possibilities of the United Nations and with its prestige and weight in the international arena.

[Kolchanov] Well, it is widely known that the United Nations was set up in its time with a noble aim—to rid humanity of the calamity of war and to confirm human rights and the value of the human person. Let us, however, state bluntly that during the past 4 decades, the cold war and military confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and a whole series of regional conflicts, all this would hardly permit approximation to the ideals to be spoken about. Naturally, the very fate of the United Nations was directly dependent on how international relations developed in the post-war years.

[Vedenyapin] And unfortunately, because of events that are well-known to us all, it so happened that Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence was reduced to a formula for class and ideological struggle on the international arena. Let us admit it. It is precisely this that is one of the reasons why the United Nations became more of a place for harsh polemics which was far from being an attempt to search together for answers to complicated problems in our lives. At the present time, a time of new political thinking, we are now sowing and proving our capability for resolving, and indeed with political means, deadlock situations and we are renouncing the stereotypes of the epoch of confrontation. But something else is obvious here. The movement towards the ideal which would fully correspond to the tasks and aims of the United Nations—this movement cannot, of course, be one-sided. It demands a bolder and more realistic approach from our partners as well. And this of course is totally incompatible with the attempts of some Western statesmen to hold on to nuclear weapons as the sole guarantee, as it were, of peaceful coexistence, right up to the last minute. In this process, I will note, special attention is deserved by the role of those countries which have freed themselves during our lifetimes from colonial dependency. Of course, the striving itself for strengthening economic and political independence is easy to understand, but at times it can scarcely be justified. For example, where we say demands are to a large extent divorced from life and the real state of things. Of course the attempts of some Third World countries to play on the contradictions between East and West are untenable.

[Kolchanov] Why is it, all the same, that the 44th session of the General Assembly which is to open next week is attracting special attention? There are several reasons. I think that it is mostly because strivings for its renewal and the rebirth of its genuine spirit are now clearly discernible within the framework of the United Nations. This tendency has become especially noticeable since April 1985 when the Soviet Union put forward a series of proposals relating to how the role of the organization could be heightened and how its armed forces and observers could be used more effectively in clearing up and settling regional conflicts rationally. Here it can be noted with satisfaction that these proposals are being studied at UN headquarters very intently.

The withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan has had a significant, positive effect on UN work. I might remind you that a resolution in which the delegates welcomed the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and called for them to be rigorously fulfilled was adopted at the last session of the General Assembly in an atmosphere of mutual assent. Moreover, the progress in resolving this problem, in the most literal meaning of this word, has begun a chain reaction in settling, with the active participation of the United Nations, other conflict situations as well. I will just recall Security Council Resolution 598 and the resources the organization allocated for the cessation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. The Namibia plan also served to a large extent to clear up the conflict situation in southern Africa. As is well known, several hundred servicemen and civilian specialists from the United Nations were allocated for its successful implementation.

[Vedenyapin] Incidentally, the fact that international cooperation is to a greater and greter extent turning to socioeconomic problems and to the ecological and the humanitarian sphere has become especially noticeable recently. The experience of other countries accumulated in resolving, let us say, the problems of power engineering—experience which helps in avoiding technological catastrophes—and experience in eliminating their consequences is very, very important for us. Unfortunately, in the comparatively recent past our prejudice prevented us from making maximum use of the possibility for such cooperation on an international scale. Now these problems themselves have become so acute that their resolution using the resources of one side cannot at times be conceived of as possible. Let us just take, for example, the problem of AIDS. In short, we are speaking about definitively overcoming the gap between our political position and practice. It is probably important here to bring Soviet legislation and practices fully into line with international standards in the sphere of human rights and freedoms and with universally acknowledged democratic norms. Maybe there is some sense here in making those legal norms that we have already established and ratified in international treaties automatically valid.

[Kolchanov] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, this is what I would like to note here additionally. While of course acknowledging the priority nature of disarmament problems and the necessity of eliminating the military threat, it should be recognized that the necessity for international cooperation in the interests of converting military production and transferring it to peaceful tracks should now also be added to this. There are things here we could learn from other countires that started dealing with these problems before us and have naturally accumulated some experience. The United Nations, particularly its European Economic Commission, could play a large role here in the issues of investigations into the problems connected with conversion. I do not need to speak about how weighty the organization's role in resolving all problems concerning the conservation of man's environment may be.

[Vedenyapin] Indisputably, both new tasks and prospects are opening up before the United Nations. In any case, our country intends, at the upcoming session, to seek the elaboration and implementation of a broad package of measures so that the cold war times, first and foremost, became finally and irrevocably a thing of the past.

[Kolchanov] Recent events also give us grounds to talk about military matters in Europe. Many changes have occurred of late, as you well know, in the military-political and in the purely military sphere on a global scale, and primarily due to Soviet-U.S. efforts. The INF treaty is being fulfilled. There are also advances at the negotiations on reduction of strategic offensive weapons. Optimism is strengthening as regards the outcome of the Vienna talks on conventional armaments. Setting a good example, the Soviet Union consistently is implementing unilateral measures in the sphere of disarmament. If one adds to this the constructive steps of a whole number of countries toward settlement of regional conflicts, and a desire to extinguish raging or smoldering sources of tension; and if one adds to this the clear activization of the anti-war movements, then one can affirm with growing confidence that the international situation is acquiring a steady tendency toward security and that peaceful cooperation is acquiring a steady tendency toward expansion and strengthening.

[Vedenyapin] Yet, at the same time, the boundaries between the past and the immediate future, in this respect, are still fairly unstable. Nevertheless, it is not merely maximum caution in actions in the military and military-political direction that is required but also certainly a constructive contribution, a contribution to real disarmament, to strengthening mutual trust, particularly of countries which belong to opposing groups. And, anyway, one should not undertake actions which run contrary to these clear requirements.

[Kolchanov] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, far from everything is the way one would wish here in Europe. For example, in the early days of September, NATO autumn exercises began—"Autumn Forge-89", [preceding three words in English] which can be translated into Russian as Osennyaya Kuznitsa. Overall, more than 205,000 servicemen of the countries of the North Atlantic bloc will reforge their training. One thousand tanks, up to 2,000 combat aircraft and about 400 vessels of all the bloc's countries will take part in those maneuvers—including France and Spain which are not members of the NATO military organization. They will participate on an immense expanse of territory stretching from Norway to Turkey. Sixteen different maneuvers in all will take place during a month. Among the maneuvers are "Sharp Spear" [preceding two words in English], or ostroye kopye, which will end a few days from now. Two hundred and seventy vessels and over 320 aircraft are involved in these most major naval exercises. And it is important to emphasize, I think, that the major NATO naval exercises are to become a tradition.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, and the NATO admirals are not concealing their idea: To train their fleet in accordance with the concept of naval forward positions. If you recall, that implies a constant NATO naval presence in immediate proximity to the territorial waters of the Warsaw Pact countries and a readiness for immediate delivery of strikes on the latter's ships and shore installations.

[Kolchanov] Galvin, supreme commander of NATO Allied Forces in Europe, spoke about this new concept and stressed the necessity of a qualitative improvement in officer training and of vigorous application of computer technology to imitate real situations locally.

[Vedenyapin] I consider that one can speak, in any case, about a quite definite trend in the concept of the maneuvers. As the General Staff of our Armed Forces consider, it is difficult to distinguish "Autumn Forge", in terms of the scale and character of the tasks being tackled, from the deployment of strike groups close to the state borders of the socialist countries for real military actions. And it is activity which clearly contradicts, of course, the positive advances in the relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty which have occurred in recent years, and naturally it generally does not promote the strengthening of trust, in general, between countries and peoples.

[Kolchanov] I think that it is important to stress one circumstance which is connected with the events of the past week. This is the discussion of the new FRG military budget. It is curious that international observers proceeded precisely from these positions when evaluating both that budget and the nature of the very debates about the budget. On the eve of the discussion of the budget in Parliament, FRG Defense Minister Stolenberg gave an interview to the newspaper NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG. We are not continuing, he said, to stand by the positions of the day before yesterday of the Atlantic Alliance, to which, incidentally, there is no alternative. We are, so to speak, a tuning-fork for rational dialogues about disarmament and arms control. If things really go as far as the elimination of the superiority of the Warsaw Pact, added Stoltenberg, and that is accompanied by convincing verification measures, then it will be possible to also reduce the armed forces of NATO.

[Vedenyapin] Well then, this statement—even although it bears the marked nuance of a certain advance offering, let us put it that way, a promise in the subjunctive mood—has to be welcomed, I think. And during the debates in the Bundestag, the defense minister noted that the Federal Republic intends to do all that is necessary to guarantee its own security at the agreed low level, under the condition that agreements are achieved at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. He expressd the hope that a positive result can be expected from the talks as soon as next year. Many, incidentally, think so. True, Stoltenberg stated at the same time: Those who say that we can now renounce NATO damage the vital interests of our people. In his opinion, the bundeswehr is not superfluous even in a period of efforts in the sphere of disarmament.

[Kolchanov] All right, let us assume that the Bundeswehr is not superfluous, as the minister says, but maybe the sum—almost DM 55 billion—is nevertheless excessive. The head of Bonn's military department categorically asserts that such expenditures correspond to a policy of political realism, and I quote him. But maybe this policy needs to be amended. These are not rhetorical questions. And it is no coincidence that many Bundestag deputies sharply criticized not only the specific financial request, but also the political nature of the current FRG military budget.

[Vedenyapin] Incidentally, in the course of this discussion on the budget in the Bundestag, the Social Democratic Party Kuehbacher announced that the FRG should play the role of initiator in the sphere of disarmament. However, the very sum of proposed expenditures on defense is evidence of the reverse. In the deputy's opinion the Ministry of Defense budget could be reduced by at least DM 3 billion, some name a figure of 8 billion. He also spoke out in favor of considerable reductions in the strength of the Bundeswehr and of the FRG refusing to participate in the project to create a European fighter of the 1990's. Incidentally, I will add that this is an excessively expensive project and even from the military point of view it is considered pointless to a certain degree.

[Kolchanov] But a well-known expert, a military expert in the West German parliament, former Air Force Lieutenant-Colonel Mechtersheimer, who now represents the Green Party in parliament, called this project madness. And incidentally, he said during parliamentary debates that next year Bonn intends to allocate much more money for arms than for the protection of the environment. Mechtersheimer stressed that the FRG Government is raising military expenditures at a time when the Warsaw Pact states are unilaterally taking specific steps in the area of disarmament. Speaking in the Bundestag, Kohl, the Federal chancellor, himself noted that the process of historic changes in Europe carries with it much risk but also opens up many chances. In his opinion a sufficient basis exists for optimism in the area of disarmament. I would add to these words of Mr Kohl that optimism on the international arena is a common advantage and therefore requires common support, especially by possibly the most powerful military state in West Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany.

[Vedenyapin] During the last 3 weeks in Colombia, you know, a real war has been going on, a war being waged by the government on the drugs mafia. In Bogota, Medellin, Cali, and other towns, shots are heard, bombs explode, blood is flowing, and more and more often we hear the words the Medellin cartel. This is the heart of the Colombian mafia. What is it? How did it form? With this question I turn to you, Yuriy Nikolayevich. Incidentally, I know you have been in Medellin.

[Isayev] Yes, while working in Latin America as a correspondent for USSR state television and radio I was able to visit Medellin once. There was a seminar there on the problems of Central America. Outwardly it is a very attractive town, very green, situated on a plain, and it is called eternally blossoming. After several hours in Medellin bursts of submachinegun fire rang out suddenly in the streets and I understood then that I was in the center of the cocaine mafia. Two clans of bandits were exchanging fire and passers-by literally had to run away from the scene of events as fast as they could.

Local colleagues showed me a huge district consisting of luxurious villas where the godfathers of the Colombia drug mafia live. It is difficult to even approach these houses: They are surrounded by barbed wire and there are video cameras and watch towers. If you decide to go fairly close the guards will open fire withour warning. I was also able to see a nineteenth-century castle, a rare and extremely beautiful building, a genuine architectural monument. This castle belongs to one of the heads of the mafia, Carlos Lehder.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, Yuriy Nikolaevich, but how was the Medellin cartel formed? Some information on its history, if you could.

[Isayev] By rights, the founder of the cartel is considered to be Carlos Enrique Lehder, who was able to unite the cocaine mafia of Colombia around him at the beginning of the seventies. A few words about Lehder himself: He is a desperate extremist who holds nothing sacred. He has hundreds of human lives on his conscience. It is not for nothing that his friends gave him at various times the nick names rum robin hood, the drugs baron, and so on. Carlos Lehder is distinguished for his audacity and a restless disposition. Together with him, other Colombian families have been occupied in this advantageous business, namely the Ochoa and Escobar families. At the end of the eighties [as heard] a cocaine war began between these three clans. Later, however, they came to an agreement and the Medellin cartel was formed

[Vedenyapin] In the press many reports have appeared stating that literally billions of dollars pass through the hands of the cartel. Is this true?

[Isayev] The cartel's annual income, as the press claims, is $8 billion. To sketch the scale of cocaine operations I will remind you that in 1984, for example, the cartel bigwigs proposed to the government to clear Colombia's entire foreign debt within a week—and I will remind you that this is $9 billion—if the government would release mafia members who had been arrested. Not very long ago a West German magazine published a list of the richest people in the world and one of the heads of the Medellin cartel—Jorge Ochoa—is by no means last on that list. I would like to mention another case that characterizes the dimensions of the drug mafia's means. Four years ago it came to light that the cartel had taken part in negotiations on buying a whole consignment of surface-to-air missiles, several military helicopters, and other modern weapons.

[Vedenyapin] How is this lethal arsenal used?

[Isayev] It is completely natural that the cartel could not exist without a complete army of mercenary killers and informants who have penetrated into literally all spheres of the Colombian economy, parliament, and the army. The main target of the mafiosi are progressive politicians, who in one way or another threaten the drugs business. I will remind you that the same Carlos Lehder in 1984 organized the assassination of Lara Bonilla, the Colombian minister of justice. In 1986 Guillermo Cano, the director of the progressive newspaper EL ESPECTADOR was murdered, and it was basically after this muder that the hunt for Lehder began. In the same year he was arrested and handed over to U.S. justice, which sentenced him to life imprisonment. It should also be noted that there exists an agreement between the U.S. and Colombian Governments on the extradition of especially dangerous criminals.

[Vedenyapin] If we take the present war—it cannot be called anything else—what were its immediate causes?

[Isayev] Three weeks ago Senator Luis Carlos Galan, a 45-year-old progressive, was killed at a mass meeting. He was a fearless man who fiercely opposed the narcotics business. It was on account of this that the hired assassins removed him from the political scene. After this crime the Colombian Government declared all-out war on the cocaine syndicate.

[Vedenyapin] And if we summarize the results of this war, then what?

[Isayev] In the course of the 3 weeks of operations more than 12,000 people have been arrested; some 5,000 automatic weapons have been seized, as have several thousand motor vehicles and around 40 airplanes; and hundreds of estates, discotheques and shops that belong to the drug mafia godfathers have been impounded. In addition, valuables worth 200 million dollars have been confiscated.

[Vedenyapin] And what about government losses?

[Isayev] During these 3 weeks several banks have been blown up in Medellin and a former mayor of the town murdered. Furthermore, the headquarters of the two leading political parties have been blown up. In Bogota bombs were planted in the offices of Caracol and Radio Nacional De Colombia radio stations; there was an explosion at the offices of the newspaper EL ESPECTADOR, and several judges have been murdered. In short the war is continuing day in, day out, and is not waning even for a minute. It should be noted that the Colombian people have sided with the government, and many towns have set up special centers where people can go with facts or information relating to people involved in the drug business. Only recently an entire computer center that served the cartel was seized in Medellin. Of course, it is an extremely difficult business to combat the drug mafia in Colombia, but nevertheless two big fish have been caught—two of the Medellin cartel's paymasters, who were then handed over to the justice authorities of the United States of America.

[Vedenyapin] Why there?

[Isayev] Well, you see the point is that many of the cartel's members have been indicted and are being sought by the U.S. justice authorities. And furthermore, U.S. prisons are much more secure than their Colombian counterparts, where the inmates can be sprung by armed detachments. By and large, the United States and Colombia are up to their necks in the drug business, if one may put it that way. The point is that 80 percent of Colombian drugs find their way to the United States.

[Vedenyapin] That's all very well, but presumably special training is required to mount such large-scale operations? Who provides this?

[Isayev] Just recently the U.S. television company NBC screened a video shot in the Colombian jungle. Foreign instructors were training members of a cartel how to kill, abduct, and attack people. Judging from the film they were military men from Israel, South Africa and Great Britain. Following this an investigation was launched, and it was established that Yavir Klein, a retired Israeli colonel, was engaged in training the murderers.

[Vedenyapin] So it's quite understandable why the United States offered Colombia assistance to combat the drug mafia.

[Isayev] Yes, of course. Because, as I have already said, 80 percent of the drugs gravitate there, and furthermore the Medellin cartel and the Cali cartel—another drug cartel—maintain an extensive network of agents in Florida, Miami and other resort areas, where these people deal in drugs. As you know, the United States has set aside 65 million dollars as aid. You should also know that after the murder of Senator Galan U.S. President George Bush telephoned Colombian President Barco Vargas and offered to help. But the Colombian president replied that his country would manage with what it had. However the U.S. Administration insisted on providing assistance, and dozens of helicopters, armored personnel carriers and special vehicles have already been despatched to Colombia. In addition to these, there are around 100 advisers in the country. According to Washington, they will not take part in any military action.

[Vedenyapin] I meant to ask: Is there not something here that should make us a little wary?

[Isayev] Yes, you know there is. And the governments of many Latin American countries have lodged resolute protests against the U.S. military presence in Colombia, because there have already been precedents, such as Bolivia, where U.S. troops were sent. Alan Garcia, the Peruvian president, said something of interest. He stated that the way to combat drugs was not to deploy tanks and helicopters, but to knock-down customs barriers and raise the prices of Latin American produce. For if a peasant grows, say, coffee, and receives much more for this than for coca leaves, then he will become a stalwart against drugs. That is how the Peruvian president explained his train of thought. Many U.S. observers believe that if the United States launches a struggle against the drugs business in Colombia, then it could get embroiled in a new war, and have a second Vietnam on its hands. By and large it is quite paradoxical that in this case the United States is funding both sides—those who are combatting drugs, and the mafiosos themselves. Through sales of Colombian cocaine, the mafiosos give the United States $300 million each day.

[Vedenyapin] And the last question. How much longer could this war go on?

[Isayev] You know, just recently one of the leaders of the cartel announced cynically that the cartel had sufficient means at its disposal to wage the war for 10 years. I would like to cite a report today by the Spanish news agency EFE, which states that the Canadian authorities have arrested five terrorists from Latin America who had false Venezuelan passports as well as a large arsenal of weapons and maps of the United States. They had a detailed plan of the U.S. President's summer residence. And so many observers believe—and not without justification—that assassination attempts are being prepared on members of the U.S. Government, and possibly even on the President himself.

[Vedenyapin] Well, there we are. Unfortunately, the air time of our broadcast has come to an end. I would like to thank my colleagues and take my leave of our listeners. Thank you for your attention. Good-bye until next time.

Nonaligned Summit Touches on Important Issues

PM1509145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article prepared by Ye. Vostrukhov in Belgrade and V. Skosyrev in Moscow under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Belgrade: Conference Over"]

[Text] The 9th conference of nonaligned countries' heads of state and government has ended at the "Sava" Congress Center. Its participants managed to comply with the stipulation that they complete their work within 4 days, although they had to work into the night.

The time was not wasted. Decisions were elaborated and unanimously adopted which open up opportunities for updating the tactics and strategy of the Nonaligned Movement. The final declaration and some 40 statements on various political and economic problems define the nonaligned countries' position in light of the changes which have taken place in the international arena under the impact of perestroyka in the USSR.

Observers note that the final declaration, in contrast to previous years, emphasizes dialogue between developed and developing countries. The declaration welcomes the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. At the same time, the movement's traditional objectives—the struggle for peace, disarmament, and strengthening of international security—remain unchanged.

It must also be mentioned that the conference paid attention for the first time to such problems as human rights, protection of the environment, and drug addiction. The declaration condemns apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination and also rejects all forms of terrorism, including state terrorism. The conference expressed support for the United Nations.

As the forum organizer, Yugoslavia prepared the drafts of the main documents after consultation with most of the participants. However, already during the foreign ministers' meeting on the eve of the conference a heated debate flared up around them. The polemics continued throughout the conference. The clash of different opinions is illustrated by the fact that some 200 amendments were made to the text of the final declaration and the other documents.

Naturally, almost the most important place in the debate was devoted to the developing countries' economic backwardness and their growing debt burden, which was estimated at $1.3 trillion. The conference backed a proposal to hold a special forum on "Third World" debt within the framework of the United Nations. During the debates President Alan Garcia of Peru, who has limited the servicing of his country's debt to 10 percent of export revenue, called on the "Third World" "to show the rich that we can stand up to them." In this context, the possibility of setting up a kind of debtors' cartel was examined.

However, this idea did not receive majority support. The conference merely called for consultations between debtors with a view to strengthening their position during negotiations. At the same time the desire was expressed that organizations such as the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other Western banks take part in the forum under the UN aegis. Thus a more conciliatory and constructive approach to the debt problem prevailed at the meeting.

We have already reported that the conference paid much attention to the situation in the planet's flashpoints. One of them is the south of Africa. According to REUTER, African leaders assessed the draft resolution prepared by Yugoslavia as too vague. Instead, a document in the spirit of past years was adopted at the conference. It accuses the Republic of South Africa [RSA] of genocide and subversive activities against neighboring African countries. The document demands that comprehensive and binding economic sanctions be adopted against Pretoria. The conference describes the elections which have just been held in the RSA as "unlawful and invalid."

Unfortunately, attempts to achieve progress in settling regional conflicts were not crowned with success at the conference. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar met with the foreign ministers of Iran and Iraq. However, both the sides involved in the conflict continue to accuse each other and are not prepared to make concessions. Incidentally, there is one positive factor: Both Iran and Iraq expressed the hope that despite the absence of an agreement the cease-fire between the two sides will be maintained.

The conference did not adopt a decision on the venue for the next, 10th, summit in 3 years' time. It was decided, however, that the foreign ministers of the 102 countries will meet in Ghana in 1991. A final decision on the venue of the next conference of heads of state and government is to be adopted at this meeting. A new member—Venezuela—was admitted to the movement in Belgrade.

Summing up the results of the debate, the movement's new leader Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, stated that "it laid important foundations with a view to ensuring that the Nonaligned Movement responds successfully to the challenges of our time."

Caputo on End of 43d United Nations Session

LD1809220589 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

The 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly closed here on Monday. Its work was marked by the desire of the overwhelming majority of the world community to seek common solutions to global problems facing mankind. At the closing meeting the session participants completed examination of a vast agenda of over 140 items.

In summing up the session's results, its president, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cults of Argentina Dante Caputo noted among other things that the work of the session had started in an especially remarkable period in modern times. For the first time after decades of confrontation and mistrust there had appeared justified hopes for positive changes in international relations. Achieved thanks to agreements between the two major powers, the significant improvement in the world situation led to concrete initiatives to settle serious regional conflicts.

In 1988 we also had grounds for optimism. We also have it now, although we think that the rates of progress were not sufficiently high compared to those we counted on, Caputo said. Nevertheless, at present we are being witness to drastic changes in international relations, he said. Speeches by American and Soviet leaders at the session were, according to Caputo, a confirmation of the end to the cold-war period. These speeches had put an end to confrontation. As a result the General Assembly adopted important decisions conducive to further dialogue. In this connection Caputo pointed to the session's unanimous adoption of the resolution on Afghanistan which, according to him, became an important step toward creating the political conditions for resolving a serious problem which divided the Afghan people for over ten years.

The 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly confirmed that the present epoch is a U.N. epoch. At present the cold war is ceding place to dialogue and detente. And there is no doubt that the countries of the world will be able to accomplish the task of achieving collective security the charter speaks about, Caputo said.

Petrovskiy Previews Upcoming 44th UNGA Session

LD1809185689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] [Presenter] A new 44th session of the UN General Assembly will be opening in New York tomorrow. Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, deputy head of the Soviet delegation and USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, talked about the problems and situations with which the world was coming to that event:

[Petrovskiy] The 44th UN General Assembly session will begin its work in an atmosphere of new processes which are developing in the international arena—processes, I would say, of renewal of the bases and style of conducting matters between states. Of course these processes are developing in a nonuniform way and in a complicated way. There is opposition on the part of certain forces that have become used to working in conditions of confrontation and that are experiencing difficulty in overcoming the stereotypes which have come about. But this is not the main thing. The main thing, I think, is the inclination of the international community toward a final end to the Cold War and the emergence of international relations into a vista characterized by an honest international community, and in this respect I think that a very important signal was received at this time at the conference of nonaligned states. And the Six make a positive contribution to the atmosphere of the session, and I should say that the latest signals which have been coming from the European Economic Community, also show that Europe too is becoming an important factor in the processes of renewal of the general situation in the world. And of course the last thing which I should say is that the socialist countries are going to this session with their new aproaches. We had a conference in Minsk where the socialist countries checked their watches, and I should say that the watches are synchronized, although each socialist country contributes its own initiatives, which is a very good and healthy sign in the work of those countries.

Conference on Nuclear Weapons at Sea Opens

LD1909084289 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Geneva September 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladislav Shishlo:

The third conference to review the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil began in Geneva today in keeping with a decision of the U.N. General Assembly.

The Treaty has been signed and ratified by tens of countries.

The main task of the conference is to examine and promote the efficiency of the treaty.

The delegates are also expected to discuss some organisational issues.

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the 1970 treaty has proved its efficiency and usefulness.

The Soviet Union wants it to become universal in character, and believes that the conference should call upon all nations, especially those which possess nuclear weapons but are not as yet parties to the treaty, to sign this international document, and those which have signed but not ratified it, to do so.

The USSR is prepared to take part in arrangements and in talks on elaborating further measures to keep weapons off the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

The conference will work until September 29.

United States & Canada

TASS Reports President Bush's Remarks in Montana

LD1909105689 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 19 Sep 89

["Bush, In No Hurry for Summit, Says United States Wants Arms Control"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington September 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

U.S. President George Bush says his administration is really keen to make arms control headway and drafting proposals that will help.

Bush, on a tour of the north-western United States, told a news conference in Helena, Montana, on Monday that "we do want to move forward on START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks)" and "are working... to have proposals that I think will capture the imagination of the Soviet Union."

During his meeting with the press, which devoted much attention to American-Soviet relations, the President was also asked: "is it time now to talk about a summit with Mr Gorbachev."

"No, it's time to talk about a constructive, productive meeting of the foreign ministers out in Wyoming," he replied.

"I think the key point is, does the Soviet Union understand that we want to see their perestroyka succeed and see them move forward with more liberties? And I think that they do understand that," Bush said.

He announced that Hungary will be granted permanent most favoured nation status meaning lower customs duties on Hungarian imports. Previously, Hungary was given similar privileges only on a temporary basis.

The President explained the decision by the fact that "Hungary's undertaken major steps toward political and economic reform."

Asked if a similar move is being contemplated with the Soviet Union, Bush said only that the Wyoming meeting will discuss "the whole economic front."

"At what point will you be taking some decisions, rather than simply saying, 'we are looking at these things?'," one of the reporters asked.

"We just take our time and do what I think is handle the overall Soviet relationship in a prudent way," was the President's answer.

U.S. Leadership Impetus to Arms Talks Sought

LD1809162989 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The successful development of Soviet-American relations can hardly be imagined without progress in the area of arms limitation and reduction. The meeting of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze with Secretary of State James Baker, scheduled for September 22-23 is the fourth such meeting this year. It will have a rather crowded agenda, in which questions of disarmament figure prominently.

Progress in disarmament negotiations has been uneven. Obvious headway has been made in talks on the reduction of conventional armaments and partly on the banning of chemical weapons, but the talks on nuclear and space armaments, as well as those on nuclear testing are stalling. The reason for this should be sought, apparently, in the American administration's ranking of priorities, which gives preference to the Vienna talks on conventional armaments and is obviously in no hurry in Geneva.

The key problems at the negotiations on nuclear space armaments—the ABM issue, mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles, sea- and air-based cruise missiles—are far from new. Slightly more than a year ago the two countries came close to the solution of some of them, for instance the problem of mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. This question remains unsettled to this day, however, primarily because the U.S. Administration and the Congress cannot agree on the future composition of this part of U.S. strategic force.

Of course, the USSR, as it has repeatedly declared, will continue its efforts to break the deadlock in the talks on nuclear space armaments. Thus, Eduard Shevardnadze recently announced his intention to present concrete suggestions on unresolved problems to his American counterparts.

Despite this it is difficult to expect a radical breakthrough if a solution is sought only by one side. The Geneva negotiations and the American delegation's stance there, call for a powerful political impetus. Only the U.S. President and the secretary of state are able to provide it.

Article Previews Shevardnadze's U.S. Talks

PM1809151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vitaliy Korionov "View From Moscow": "Something to Talk About"]

[Text] The name Jackson Lake Lodge, 36 miles northeast of Jackson City, Wyoming, is being encountered increasingly frequently in the pages of the world press. The reason is obvious: A major political event will take place there next Friday and Saturday—a meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. It has been announced in Washington that E.A. Shevardnadze will meet with President G. Bush in the White House Thursday.

Of course, not everyone applauds the upcoming meeting. THE WASHINGTON POST has already carried a commentary which claims: "This is not the time for an amicable meeting in Wyoming." But since its authors are R. Evans and R. Novak, who are known for rejecting outright the very idea of the possibility of Soviet-U.S. cooperation, this gives grounds for saying that such attacks certainly do not reflect the sentiments of the overwhelming mass of Americans. Their sentiments are indicated far more expressively, for example, by U.S. public opinion poll data attesting that only 45 percent of Americans now believe in the existence of a "Soviet threat," whereas 4 years ago 76 percent were under the influence of this "cold war" stereotype. "U.S. experts believe," the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR states, "that the Soviet Union's new image, which arouses a feeling of friendship, could have a profound, long-term effect on U.S. policy."

Indeed, the present aspect of the Soviet Union, which is consistently guided in international affairs by the new political thinking, has taken out one of the main arrows from the anti-Soviets' quiver.

The U.S. public has been greatly impressed, in particular, by the fact that a group of U.S. congressmen—members of a delegation of the House Armed Services Committee, that is, those who allocate the billions of dollars for arms production—was recently granted an opportunity to view the most secret Soviet military installations without let or hindrance. NEWSWEEK magazine laconically remarked in this connection: "The score is 1:0 in favor of glasnost."

Moscow would be pleased for the U.S. side to take the lead in this score. In recent weeks a number of reports have appeared in the U.S. press that President Bush, on returning to Washington after his vacation, brought plans for "more intensive cooperation with the Soviet Union." True, some journalists, like G. Hoffman of that same THE WASHINGTON POST, remark that the master of the White House is motivated by a desire to "seize the initiative from Moscow on some of the major items on the U.S.—Soviet agenda"—a desire fanned by the "disturbances in the Baltic region." I would like, however, to believe that the administration is motivated by more serious, considered intentions.

The main thing now is to find effective ways to conquer the ground from which the forces of mistrust and enmity have been ousted in recent years and to begin growing a crop of good deeds on it. The upcoming meetings in the United States provide an opportunity not only to check political watches but also to reveal reserves and unutilized potential for the further normalization of relations between the two countries.

"A rare opportunity has been opened up in the Soviet-U.S. talks," THE NEW YORK TIMES remarked in an editorial. "How is the United States reacting to its emergence? It is thrown into a cold sweat... The talks on reducing strategic arms have been going on since 1985. With considerable help from Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan was on the way to reaching an agreement when he left office. Bush is still in no hurry to act."

The talks on a problem of such great importance to mankind as nuclear tests have also been frozen. It can be seen from the materials published recently by the UN department on disarmament questions that 1,741 nuclear tests were carried out on the planet between 1945 and the end of 1987, of which 899 explosions were carried out by the United States, 620 by the USSR, 151 by France, 41 by Britain, and 30 by the PRC. Seeking to set an example, on 6 August 1985 the Soviet Union introduced a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests and extended it four times. During recent UN General Assembly sessions the three Western nuclear powers were the only ones to vote in practice against all draft resolutions relating to a ban on nuclear tests. It remains to be seen what arguments these powers will put forward to justify such a stand at the 44th UN General Assembly Session, which opens tomorrow.

The report by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar published on the eve of this international forum's session states: "We will soon be entering a new decade. There is a great desire throughout the world to turn a new page and to try innovative approaches to resolving old problems. There are many obstacles on the way to a stable world and balanced progress, and to surmount them it is necessary to fully commission the world's creative potential—political, intellectual, and moral. The United Nations is ready to serve as a tool for achieving these aims."

It must be borne in mind, however, that every step forward here is taken with difficulty. It is significant that the upcoming meetings in the United States and the start of the General Assembly session's work will take place to the rumble of large-scale military exercises organized by the Pentagon. In September, over a vast area extending from northern Norway to Turkey's eastern borders and from Gibraltar to the Elbe, NATO generals are conducting as many as 20 combined-arms, air, and sea exercises, in which hundreds of thousands of servicemen, thousands of combat aircraft and tanks, and hundreds of ships are involved. During September and October the Pacific will also be an arena for large-scale exercises by the Armed Forces of the United States and also of Canada and the Philippines and by Japan's "self-defense forces."

Who is the generator of such a policy? I put this question because some of us have recently become too shy, as it were, to speak about the activity of the U.S. military-industrial complex. And yet it continues to have a considerable impact on the policy of influential U.S. circles. "Some 65 percent of all military expenditure," the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL recalled recently, "is placed at the disposal of the 100 largest contractor firms; the five largest of these turn over approximately one-fifth of all the Pentagon's orders. This is a state within a state." Yes, by all accounts it will be an agonizing process for the United States to give up such an ingrained habit as "arms doping."

The path leading to an improvement in the international political climate is proving to be tortuous and bumpy. It is too early to speak of a genuine, qualitative leap in Soviet-U.S. relations. But, we repeat, the preconditions for this do exist. The USSR-U.S. dialogue can be led to a new horizon. Moreover, an opportunity is being opened up to clear the way for a new meeting between our two countries' top leaders. Wyoming could be an important landmark on this path.

Ptashnikov Examines U.S. Arms Control Policy

LD1609213489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] In the United States a wide discussion has developed concerning the U.S. Administration's foreign policy, in particular concerning its position in relation to the Soviet Union and in the area of arms control. I now turn over to my colleague, commentator Andrey Ptashnikov:

[Ptashnikov] I think that I am not mistaken if I say that there are three basic reasons for the beginning of this discussion. First of all there is the coming meeting on 21 September in Washington between Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. President Bush, and the talks on the 2 following days between the Soviet foreign minister and U.S. Secretary of State Baker. The second and third reasons are dictated by the progress of the regular round of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and the 12th round of the talks on nuclear and space weapons planned for the end of September in Geneva.

As far as the discussion itself is concerned, it is difficult to imagine that its tone could please the White House. Here are just a few examples: The authorative public organization, Americans for Democratic Action, has circulated a report in Washington, the title of which speaks for itself: Rhetoric and Reality.

In this report President Bush is accused of breaking promises, made publicly during his election campaign and also after his administration came to power. Recalling for example, Bush's promise to work actively to achieve just and far-reaching agreements in the area of strategic arms control, the report's authors consider that the President is not moving along this path actively, but as if asleep. In its turn THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper wrote in one of its editorials this week: It seems that the Bush administration is not striving for the success of the talks on strategic offensive arms, but at the same time it is trying to conclude an agreement on cuts in conventional forces and arms in Europe.

Further delay, the newspaper continues, may make the strategic offensive arms talks a hostage of the conventional arms talks which will continue for many months yet. THE NEW YORK TIMES notes that it would be more sensible for President Bush to aim for progress in both sets of talks.

It is impossible not to agree with such a conclusion or with the evaluations given above. The U.S. Administration really does talk a lot of the need for arms cuts and the establishment of a reliable verifiable control of them. Unfortunately the matter has not yet gone beyond words, and if it has, then only with great difficulty. Perhaps only in the question of cuts in conventional arms is there some positive advance. The situation concerning strategic weapons is much more complex. In the first place this is connected to the United States's stubborn unwillingness to renounce the SDI program.

At a briefing in Moscow on 15 September, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry underlined that Comrade Shevardnadze is going to the talks in Washington with a series of new proposals and that the Soviet Union expects that the United States will express new, specific ideas.

It only remains to see if these hopes will be justified, and we do not have long to wait.

U.S. Air Force 'Miracle' Fighter Plans Reported

PM1809094589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Sukhoy: "They Are Dreaming of a 'Miracle-Fighter'"]

[Text] New York, 13 Sep—Although this aircraft's lines remain highly secret, specialists say that it will look like a gigantic sting [zhalo]. It does not yet exist as such, but representatives of the U.S. Air Force are calling the "advanced-technology fighter" the "miracle aircraft of the 21st century."

The program to create the sophisticated fighter for the U.S.Air Force was launched in 1981. The Pentagon announced that in the future it intends to acquire 750 "advanced-technology fighters" and to "pay on the nail" a minimum of $65 billion. The military department has set several tough conditions: The weight of the new fighter should not exceed 23 tonnes, it should reach supersonic speed without an afterburner, be "invisible" on radar screens, be not very expensive (the "ceiling" for the cost of one aircraft is $41 million) and, most important, be one degree better than its predecessor, the F-15 fighter, and all supersonic fighters in the world.

Two "teams" of military-industrial concerns have decided to present their versions. One "team" consists of Lockheed, General Dynamics, and Boeing, the other of Northrop and McDonnell Douglas. Early next year their creations are to show their potential in the sky. The winner should be made clear by late 1991.

If the aircraft is highly rated, the U.S. Navy also intends to order a "naval version" of the advanced-technology fighter for itself. In that case the cost of the program may be in excess of the sum which it is planned to spend on the creation of the fleet of B-2 Stealth bombers.

Zaykov, U.S. Official Discuss Aircraft Project

LD1609150189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] The conversion begun at Soviet defense enterprises has opened up great possibilities for transferring many Moscow scientific establishments and works to peaceful routes and bringing them into international cooperation. This was stressed today at a meeting between Comrade Zaykov, Paulson, chairman of the board and general director of the American aircraft building firm Gulfstream Aerospace, and Simonov, chief designer of Sukhoy Buro. Specific issues connected with the intensified implementation of the joint elaboration and production of supersonic passenger airliners were discussed.

Ambassador Matlock Describes Soviet Far East Trip

LD1809095989 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Jack Matlock, the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, has completed a 10-day tour of the Soviet Union, which took him to Sakhalin, Vladivistok, Khabarovsk and Ulan-Ude.

Sharing his impressions, the U.S. diplomat said it was an unusual trip, primarily because it was the first time in post-war years that a U.S. ambassador to the USSR was given a chance to visit parts of the Soviet Union closed to foreigners for quite a time. He noted that this fact in itself was one more proof of the success of the Soviet Union's policy of glasnost.

In a talk with TASS political analyst Yuriy Kornilov he said that he was able to meet different people—local leaders, specialists and representatives of public circles. The U.S. ambassador noted the friendliness and cordiality, openness and sincerity with which they discussed different problems. He said he would remember it for a long time to come.

Noting that these meetings and talks focussed on plans for the socio-economic development of the Soviet Far East, as well as on the state and prospects of American-Soviet economic and commercial cooperation, on possibilities of launching joint ventures, Jack Matlock stressed that interest and attention to this subject were perfectly grounded.

A joint American-Soviet company for the utilization of marine resources (Sovam) is operating for more than ten years now in the Soviet Far East. Specializing in sea fishing, it has centres at Nakhodka and Seattle.

American specialists are also taking part in oil prospecting in the Sea of Okhotsk. Jack Matlock said that this was merely the beginning. He believes very important the Soviet idea to set up special zones of free enterprise in the Soviet Far East, enjoying a preferential customs regime, easy terms for licencing foreign economic deals and tax tariffs.

Jack Matlock said that, unfortunately, U.S. businessmen knew very little today about the opportunities for cooperation now existing in the Soviet Far East. This is explained not only by the fact that the area was a "closed zone" for Westerners till of late, but also by the fact that the local government organs lacked proper independence. Now these are things of the past.

The U.S. Embassy in Moscow has already given recommendations to American firms on the expediency and prospects of mutual cooperation.

Promotion of international tourism in the Soviet Far East could be one of the areas of such cooperation, the ambassador believes. Jack Matlock noted in this context that he was amazed by the incomparible beauty and variety of this vast territory's nature, its picturesque ocean gulfs, magnificent cedar forests and mountain ranges. He noted that thought should be given to the development and expansion of direct transport links between the United States and the Soviet Far East.

"If it is not a secret, what did you communicate to the State Department after you returned to Moscow from the Soviet Far East?", the TASS political analyst asked the ambassador. "I wrote that the trip was successful", Jack Matlock replied, "and that Soviet perestroyka opens up new opportunities for expanding mutually advantageous American-Soviet contacts and relations..."

U.S. Plans To Broaden Contacts in Afghanistan

LD1409224989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The influential U.S. paper THE WASHINGTON POST has informed its readers of U.S. intentions to broaden its contacts with all forces opposing the Kabul regime. Our special correspondent Vladimir Fadeyev reports from Kabul:

[Fadeyev] I personally heard of this from a Voice of America radio broadcast, after the presenter in the same news report had been attempting to persuade listeners that U.S. policy, or more precisely its present administration, is oriented toward seeking a political solution to the Afghan problem. I would, of course, not be acting true to my conscience, if I started claiming that the sense of these two paragraphs from the same broadcast in no way fits together in my awareness. It does, of course, fit together, especially since I have an opportunity in practice to make sure of the U.S. interpretation of the notion of a political settlement of the Afghan conflict.

U.S. rocket projectiles regularly fall on Kabul and other of the country's cities, taking the lives of peaceful citizens, including children. We have repeatedly proposed to the U.S. side that military supplies be halted to both the warring sides. In reply, it has not only answered with a refusal, but has been declaring its intention henceforth to supply weapons directly to the opposition, bypassing Pakistan as an intermediate link in these operations.

It is clear to the whole world that it would not be very hard, if only it wanted, for Washington to influence the Afghan opposition into sitting down at the negotiating table with Kabul's representatives and thereby attempting to solve the whole complex of problems and differences, and to solve them in the name of national compromise and peace in the country. But it does not do so. Reports in Kabul's newspapers and on its radio and television, and finally the communiques of the competent bodies, are full to overflowing with news of the ever-mounting scale of the war between the armed formations belonging to various opposition political parties. The numbers of those killed and wounded on the various sides amount to hundreds of people. This naturally is affecting the peaceful population, too. Washington cannot fail to be aware of all this. However, it is continuing to do everything possible to further maintain tension in the region for as long as possible. This policy naturally evokes sharp protests from the Afghans. Indeed it is condemned, too, by those who just yesterday were fighting with U.S. weapons in their hands within the detachments of the opposition.

Here is what I was told by (Anwar Gol Khan) one of the field commanders, who recently came over to the side of the people's government, together with his detachment of more than 2,000 men.

[Begin (Khan) recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] We decided to cooperate with President Najibullah's government, (Anwar Gol Khan) says, after we heard of his appeal to all field commanders operating inside the country's territory. The situation itself also helped us to reach the decision. For a long time now there have been no Soviet forces in Afghanistan, and in effect Najibullah asked us for assistance in repelling the onslaughts from Pakistan and mercenaries from other countries. The events of recent months have shown very clearly who our friends are and who are our enemies, (Anwar Gol Khan) said in conclusion. [end recording]

Veterans Appeal to Bush to Halt Afghan War

PM1409160389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Readers' letter: "You Can and Must Intervene!"]

[Text] We cannot just quietly watch what is happening in Afghanistan. Innocent people are being killed. We cannot understand how, on one hand, U.S. President G. Bush expresses his sympathies over the deaths in the Armenian earthquake while, on the other, he is apparently indifferent to what is happening in Afghanistan—not without U.S. help.

So through PRAVDA we wanted to appeal, if possible, to U.S. President Mr Bush.

Mr President!
When the Armenian earthquake occurred we were very grateful to learn of the foreign aid for the victims.

We were particularly touched by the aid brought to Armenia from the United States by your son. We saw him on TV chatting with crippled people during a visit to a hospital. His face was so full of sorrow and compassion for the victims! No human effort could have prevented that earthquake.

But we are surprised by something else. Despite the Geneva accords, the opposition continues to shell Afghan cities. Entirely innocent women, children, and old people are being killed or crippled. Yet human efforts could be made to end the hostilities.

On this matter, Mr President, you can and should play a decisive role in bringing about a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and in ending the senseless hostilities.

[Signed] V. Markovskiy and B. Eslivanov, war and labor veterans, Kursk.

U.S. Radio Program Revives 'Cold War Spirit'

LD1709034489 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Weekly commentary by Valentin Zorin; announcer-read]

[Excerpts] It's a pleasure to read that the cold war that lasted for 4 decades is now left in the past. Soviet-American relations are no exception in this sense. [passage omitted] Recently however, writes Valentin Zorin, I came across a fact that made me think! Aren't we falling into a kind of euphoria, assuming that the cold war is over?

While listening to the radio I picked up one program, quite by chance, broadcast by the U.S. radio station Liberty, in Russian to the Soviet Union. The tone of the program and the selection of the information surprised me, and I decided to tune into that station's programs for several more days. I discovered that the programs, financed by the U.S. Government—that is, by the American taxpayers—contain exclusively negative facts about life in the Soviet Union in general and in the life of the nationalities in particular. [passage omitted]

Is it fair to paint only in dark colors the lives of a big country where hundreds of millions of people live? What would be the reaction of our American listeners if we decided to concentrate in our broadcasts only on the negative side of life in the United States? [passage omitted]

Should we decide to give a distorted, biased picture of the life in America the American public would qualify this decision as an unfriendly gesture, as propaganda typical of the gloomy cold war years. The Liberty radio station, financed by the U.S. Government, acts in exactly this spirit when it broadcasts its programs to Soviet audiences. Someone in Washington has apparently decided to take advantage of the lifting of the ban on the jamming of foreign broadcasts [as heard] in the Soviet Union and to revive the cold war spirit. I think you'll agree that relations between our two countries will hardly benefit from this policy.

Canadian Agricultural Delegation Ends Visit

LD1209041989 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—A Canadian delegation, headed by Donald Mazankowski, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture, ended its talks in Moscow by signing documents on agricultural cooperation. The delegation had stayed in the Soviet Union since September 5 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

During their visit, the delegation had talks at the USSR Council of Ministers and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Agrarian Department. The state and prospects of bilateral cooperation in the agri-industrial complex were discussed during talks at the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases. The sides also signed a program of business cooperation for the years 1989-1991.

The Canadian delegation also visited the Ukraine to get acquainted with agricultural development of this Soviet republic.

Speaking at the final meeting of the fourth session of the Soviet-Canadian Mixed Commission for Agricultural Cooperation, timed to coincide with the Canadian delegation's visit, Mazankowski said that during the talks the Soviet and Canadian partners had mapped out a vast program of cooperation in the agri-industrial complex. It covers deliveries of equipment, soil protection measures, scientific-technological development in agriculture and the shooting of several educational films about the work of Canadian farmers for the Soviet Union. The sides displayed interest in establishing cooperation between Canadian provinces and Soviet republics.

The Soviet delegation was headed by Vladilen Nikitin, first deputy prime minister and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Food and Purchases. He stressed the importance of the Soviet-Canadian talks and expressed the hope for their earliest implementation.

The next session of the Soviet-Canadian Mixed Commission for Agricultural Cooperation will be held in Canada in 1991.

China

Deng Cited on Continuation of PRC Reforms

PM1809160589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Course of Reform Unchanged"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 Sep—China faces the task of generalizing historic experience, resolutely combating manifestations of demoralization, and maintaining the honesty and incorruptibility of leading cadres, Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the PRC Central Military Council, stated here today during a meeting with Professor Tsung-Dao Lee of Columbia University (United States). The recent riots and counterrevolutionary uprising in Beijing, the Chinese leader said, had been a good lesson for the party and had had a sobering effect on many party members. For a number of years they had not paid enough attention to political education work and had failed to take effective measures to combat demoralization phenomena.

XINHUA reported that he reaffirmed the unswerving nature of the reform policy and the expansion of ties with the outside world which China has been pursuing for a number of years. The country's new leadership is fully resolved to maintain an atmosphere of stability and cohesion. Economic building will be the central component of all this work.

Of course, Deng Xiaoping noted, various fluctuations and shortcomings are inevitable in the course of progress, but we are confident that those who constantly defend the party's main political directives will ultimately be wholly victorious. Without the Communist Party's leadership there would have been no new China, and we must not be sidetracked from the socialist path of development, he stressed.

Results of Lukyanov Visit to China Reported

LD1809223989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] The visit to the People's Republic of China of a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Comrade Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, has ended. Our correspondent in Beijing Vladimir Kulikov reports:

[Kulikov] The delegation spent an entire week in China, a week filled with meetings with both the country's leaders and workers, peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia, and young people, and probably the main conclusion which one can draw after this visit consists of the fact that ties between the peoples of the two socialist countries are resuming and expanding, getting as it were a second wind following the normalization of relations between the USSR and China which took place after Comrade Gorbachev's visit to China.

We have quite a few things to discuss with Chinese colleagues. We intend to familiarize ourselves with how reform is being implemented in China; are ready to share our experience which has been accumulated during the process of perestroyka in our country. This is what Comrade Lukyanov said on his arrival in China.

What can be counterposed to inflation which seriously threatens the resolving of social questions in our countries? How is one to resolve questions of ecology and the health care of the people? How can one overcome difficulties of economic development, connected with laws [word indistinct]. These and many other questions were put by people's deputies during meetings with their Chinese colleagues. And how is housing allocated in China? And how have they managed it in Shanghai, that there are no queues in the shops of that 12-million-strong city? And how are Chinese colleagues succeeding in so-to-speak harnessing a horse to one cart, having in mind the state plan and the [word indistinct], that is, the market?

But probably the chief impression—and this was said to me in an interview before the departure for the homeland by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet—is the meeting with the ordinary people of China—peasants at a people's commune near Beijing; steel founders at the (?Sukhansky) metallurgical combine; shipbuilders from Shanghai; and young people who greeted our delegation during the visit to the historic monument of China, the Great Wall of China. Not only (?grey-haired) veterans, witnesses of our cooperation in the 1950's, but also representatives of the new generation of Chinese people, hold dear friendly ties between our countries and talk warmly about our country and connect their future with the further all-round development of relations between our countries. The tree of Soviet- Chinese friendship, as Comrade Lukyanov said, has deep roots.

Resumption of Party Ties With China Viewed

OW1709223089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Station observer Alekseyev commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Text] In his statement in Beijing, Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation on a visit to China, pointed out: Gorbachev's trip to China last May signaled a great breakthrough in Soviet-Chinese relations. He emphatically noted: The Soviet-Chinese summit created the political conditions for bilateral cooperation in all fields. Station observer Alekseyev has the following comment on this matter:

I feel that what is particularly important is the fact that Soviet-Chinese cooperation is no longer limited to the economic, scientific, cultural, educational, or sports fields. Today I would like to discuss the question of improving relations between the CPSU and CPC.

An agreement on this matter was reached in principle during Gorbachev's visit to China last May. This agreement is now in the implementation stage. Several days ago, talks between a CPC delegation led by Zhu Liang, head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee, and CPSU leaders were held in Moscow. The two sides agreed on specific plans with regard to bilateral ties. In the 1950's, the CPSU and the CPC believed that they must have completely identical views on all issues. They believed that since the two parties shared the same ideology, they should also take the same stand on everything and every issue. This dogmatic view ultimately led to the severance of ties between the two parties.

Both the Soviet Union and China have learned from these lessons. During the summit last May, the two sides both realized that all communist parties are independent, that all socialist countries have the right to build their own model of socialism, and that no one has the right to claim to be the ultimate arbiter of truth or to impose his will on others. This understanding has become the very foundation of ties between the CPSU and the CPC.

The objective necessity of establishing ties between the two parties is very obvious. The Soviet and Chinese communist parties both have accumulated rich experiences and each party is interested in what the other has learned. Today, to a large extent, the CPSU and the CPC are tackling similar problems of reform and rejuvenation. However, this is not the only thing that is at stake here. We are living in a world of great uncertainty. The Communists in both China and the Soviet Union should approach and think about the events taking place on the world stage with a new perspective. I believe that it is very beneficial to both sides to exchange views in this regard. It will help the two parties to decide on the focus their strategies should take in terms of foreign relations.

Commentary on Parliamentary Contacts With PRC

OW1709211689 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Commentary by station commentator (Shchedrov) from the "World Today" program]

[Text] A Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is on an official friendly visit to China. This visit is the most representative meeting between the parliaments of the two countries since contacts between them were resumed in 1985. Lukyanov's trip coincides with the first anniversary of Gorbachev's speech at Krasnoyarsk. In this regard, our commentator (Shchedrov) notes the following:

In his speech at Krasnoyarsk, as he did in his earlier speech at Vladivostok, Gorbachev expounded the essence of Soviet strategy in the Asia and Pacific region; namely, to promote peaceful cooperation among all the countries in the region and to do away with conflicts and military confrontations in an effort to guarantee common security. This position, along with other factors, has also created conditions for a sound development of the relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Gorbachev announced a year ago that our country hopes for a comprehensive normalization of our relations with China. Today this normalization has become a fact. The meeting between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping in May year proved it. That meeting has opened the way for the two sides to expand their contacts in all fields and has added new content to such contacts.

Needless to say, the visit undertaken by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation not too long ago was purely ceremonious. But things have changed now. The USSR Supreme Soviet has taken hold of the power to run the country. It has shouldered responsibility for successfully implementing reforms at home. In this sense, it is extremely important for this body to study the experiences of others that are available, including those of China. The events of this summer show the importance of getting first-hand information. In my opinion, the staid and responsible reaction of the Soviet legislative body to the Tiananmen incident in June was precisely the result of the efforts being made to gain a solid understanding of reality in China. Today, when sentiments have simmered down, we can see that this position is the one that can best serve the interests of the Soviet Union and China, as well as the interests of international security.

In conclusion, (Shchedrov) points out: This once again shows us the advantage of direct contacts between our parliaments.

Northeast Asia

Japanese White Paper on Defense Viewed

Paper Distorts 'Facts'

LD1609183189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Koloshin video report from Tokyo]

[Excerpts] The Japanese Ministry of Defense has published the figures for the country's military budget for the coming year.

[Koloshin] The latest annual white paper on defense is not a passing event in the life of Japan, especially against the background of the positive improvements taking place in the world. Of course, Japanese journalists were interested in the reaction of the Soviet side, because it is precisely to our country and to relations with it that the white paper is to a considerable extent devoted. We cannot agree with the picture of the Soviet threat given in the paper in question, it was said at the traditional briefing for Japanese journalists at the USSR Embassy. In calculating the correlation of forces, the Japanese Government had forgotten about the U.S. military presence in Japan and about their forces in Alaska. If it is true, then you get a fearful picture of the ferocious Soviet wolf ready to gobble up the Japanese little red riding hood. In terms of this picture, little red riding hood received a gift in the form of a 6-percent increase in her military budget. As is widely believed, the military budget of Japan, which has, by the way, renounced wars under her Constitution, is now the the third in the world. [video shows briefing in progress] [passage omitted]

The strange document was born within these walls. [video shows Koloshin standing outside a compound] All of the Soviet proposals, say on confidence-building measures, are rejected here out of hand, and then they try and present things in such a way as though the new thinking in our country is virtually a fiction. On one hand it is understandable: They want very much to push through their military development plans for the period 1991-1995, but why distort the facts?

Paper Ignores 'Changed' Times

OW1909030589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Commentary by station military commentator Kalinin]

[Text] On 12 September, the Japanese Defense White Paper passed approval at a cabinet meeting. Radio Moscow military commentator Kalinin writes as follows on the subject:

The present Defense White Paper is the 15th such paper issued. As usual, it analyzes the international military and political situation and the present military situation in Japan. Unfortunately, as usual, it also discusses the so-called Soviet threat.

This theory of the existence of a Soviet threat would have been appropriate and in accordance with the spirit of the times if we had been in the age of the notorious Cold War, when the image of enmity in East-West relations prevailed, or during a period of world war. However, times have changed.

Today, thanks to the new thinking advocated by the USSR, we can be confident that the international situation has improved markedly. The authors of the white paper seem to admit this to a certain degree. However, they claim that despite the relaxation of tensions, the Soviet threat to Japan continues. Let us look at how much such a view conforms to reality.

It is a well-known fact that after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty, the USSR, in response to the wishes of Asian countries, including Japan, agreed to dismantle the long and short-range ballistic missiles in the Asian region of the country. The USSR also decided not to increase the number of any of its nuclear weapons in Asia. By doing so, the USSR took a significant step in downgrading the nuclear threat in the region.

Conventional weapons have not been an exception. With the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops by the end of next year, Soviet forces in the Far East will be reduced by 120,000 men. In this reduction, 12 divisions will be cut from the ground forces, 11 air regiments will be disbanded, and the number of fighting ships in the Pacific Fleet will be reduced by 16. The remaining forces will be of a purely defensive nature.

Taking the above facts into consideration, nobody would probably take seriously the claim that the existence of a Soviet threat to Japan has remained unchanged. Understandably, those who have read the Defense White Paper may disagree with me, because of the way the white paper was written it sounded as if around 60 percent of the Soviet Union's troops and air force planes are concentrated near Hokkaido.

I do not know where such information came from. I am well acquainted with the deployment of troops in the Soviet Far Eastern Military District. I think that we can say, based on sufficient evidence, that either the writers of the white paper were misled by false reports or they intentionally attempted to mislead public opinion. I believe that the second possibility is nearer the truth.

The fact that the theory of the existence of a Soviet threat against Japan is totally groundless becomes particularly evident when we compare the Soviet forces in the Far East with the U.S. and Japanese forces in the region. Such a comparison shows that the Soviet Union is inferior in troop size, tactical aircraft, and ship-based planes, accounting for less than 50 percent. It also has a disadvantage in terms of conventional ships, which account for only about 25 percent.

It would be more reasonable to say that it is the USSR that is being threatened in terms of balance of forces. However, the authors of the Defense White Paper are saying the opposite. Why?

I think this point was indirectly answered by a KYODO News Agency report. In this report, it was pointed out that the appearance of this Defense White Paper stressing the Soviet threat coincides with the fast approaching end of the 1986-1990 Japanese military buildup plan and the beginning of efforts to draw up a new military buildup program.

From all indications, the developing positive process in the international arena is making Japanese attempts to further build its military capability difficult. Thus, the myth of a Soviet threat was brought up. However, we must point out here that such fabrications are clearly contradictory to the spirit of the times and the interest of relaxing military tension in the Far East.

Two Japanese Named for Joint Space Flight

LD1809145189 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Two staff members of the Japanese TBS television network have been named candidates for a Soviet-Japanese space flight, to be carried out in 1991 under a commercial agreement between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Akiyama Toehira, 47, a graduate from the International Peasant University, is deputy head of the TBS international news department.

Kikuchi Rioko, 25, a graduate from the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, works as a camera operator of the news service.

In October, Toehira and Rioko will begin training at the Soviet cosmonauts' training centre.

The main enterprise in charge of the Soviet-Japanese flight on a Soyuz spaceship is the research-and-production association Energiya of the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building.

Moscow Ad Invites Siberian Joint Ventures

OW1409122789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] The Association of State Cooperatives Tayga is seeking partners interested in establishing joint ventures in order to develop and commercialize the bountiful nature of Siberia's Tayga region. Tayga is able to offer products of the very beautiful nature of the taiga region to its foreign partners. To cite a few examples, cowberry, cranberry, currant, Yeddo strawberry, chestnut, osmund, bracken, and a great variety of medicinal plants. There is practically no limit to the products that can be supplied. Moreover, with the establishment of joint ventures with foreign companies and the acquisition of loans, modern technology and equipment can be used. Tayga wants to work in cooperation with highly motivated partners.

Those interested in joint ventures should contact telex No 411137 or telephone No 2336461, or write to the following address: Association of State Cooperatives Tayga, c/o Japanese Section, Radio Moscow, Moscow.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia To Witness Vietnamese Troop Pullout

Soviet Delegation Leaves for Cambodia

LD1809224989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1736 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—A USSR delegation headed by Olzhas Suleymenov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow for Phnom Penh today.

In keeping with the invitation of the government of the State of Cambodia, it will take part in measures connected with the completion of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from this country.

Khmer Rouge Intensify 'Terrorist Acts'

BK1909085789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Station Observer Viktor Valentinov's article]

[Text] It has been reported that the Pol Pot clique has intensified its terrorist acts in the western part of Cambodia.

The Khmer Rouge committed atrocities particularly against the people of Vietnamese origin. Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, has written an article which says:

Observers always link the activities of the Pol Pot clique with the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. It is known that the final group of Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia before midnight on 26 September.

The Khmer Rouge's infiltration seems to aim at mobilizing their forces inside Cambodia in order to kindle a civil war as of October and to attempt to seize power in the country.

Why must they victimize the people of Vietnamese origin? The people of Vietnamese origin have been living in Cambodia for a long time and earned their living through such occupations as handicrafts and fishing, which pose no threat to the national security.

In my opinion, by inciting a new phase of the anti-Vietnam movement, the Pol Pot clique aims at creating a pretext for its return to Cambodia. Previously, Pol Pot and his men claimed that their sole target was the presence of the Vietnamese troops. Now that the Vietnamese troops are withdrawing from Cambodia, what will they say next?

Not only have the Khmer Rouge refused to stop their plundering activities, but they have also tried to push everything toward a civil war. This is seen through the rumors spread by the staff officers of the Pol Pot clique in Thailand accusing the Vietnamese fishermen of being a naval force. In sum, the Pol Pot clique has strived to sow racial hatred in an attempt to kindle anti-Vietnamese feelings as a pretext to justify its presence in Cambodian territory.

Such a case has precedent in Cambodian history. In 1970, the group of generals led by Lon Nol, who had close relations with the United States, also tried to fan an anti-Vietnamese campaign inside the country. The conflict which was then spread throughout the country enabled the generals to topple the neutral government of Samdech Sihanouk. As a result, Cambodia was dragged into the Vietnam war and the U.S. aggression began. Phnom Penh was then controlled by the Thieu-Ky soldiers. The civil war that flared up inside the country weakened Cambodian strength and determined the dateline for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to come to power. The regime of the Khmer Rouge which entered Phnom Penh in 1975 then began its atrocities against the people of Vietnamese origin. Those who did not flee to Vietnam or Thailand were killed by the Pol Pot clique inside Cambodia.

It should be noted that the anti-Vietnamese repression was followed by the Pol Pot clique's genocidal crimes against the Cambodians, Chinese, and other nationalities inside the country, totaling more than 3 million.

The Pol Pot regime collapsed in 1979 and the Khmer Rouge fled from the country.

Life in Cambodia has evolved rapidly toward normalcy. Relations between the Cambodians and other nationalities have improved. Therefore, although their traditions are different, the Cambodians and Vietnamese can coexist as good neighbors and make friends with each other. They have made joint efforts for the sake of Cambodia. This can be proven clearly through everything that has taken place in the past 10 years.

Pol Pot and his men disagree with the fact that Cambodia might not want them. They have concocted new plans in an attempt to seize the power and begin it all over again by fanning anti-Vietnamese sentiments.

Thailand's Diplomatic Effort Noted

BK1809134589 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Station commentary: "The Most Recent Step Taken Toward Finding a Settlement for Cambodia"]

[Text] Dear listeners, as you must have heard from the news, Bangkok this week has been a center of diplomatic activities. At the initiative of Thai Prime Minister General Chatchai Chunhawan, meetings have taken place between him and leaders of the Khmer resistance factions, namely Prince Ranariddh who is Prince Sihanouk's son, Son Sann and Khieu Samphan. And in a couple of days, probably this coming Sunday, Chatchai will meet Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen. The most important point in the talks, both those already held and those to take place, is how to solve the impasse and achieve a political settlement for Cambodia following the failure of the international conference on Cambodia in Paris. Moscow Radio's commentator has the following views.

According to a comment in the Bangkok newspaper THE NATION, the Thai prime minister's diplomatic effort, called shuttle diplomacy, was meant to achieve a ceasefire between the hostile Cambodian factions to prevent more killings among the Khmer people and prevent a civil war from breaking out after all Vietnamese troops are pulled out from Cambodia by the end of September.

Diplomats in Bangkok, however, tend to think that the Thai prime minister's relentless effort is unlikely to produce results. What are the reasons to support this line of thinking?

Any exchanges of views, no matter how difficult, are always useful because, at least, they allow all parties to put their respective positions in a clearer perspective, and this should pave the way for better understanding no matter how belated. Otherwise, there will never be a chance for a constructive approach. This is [word indistinct] directly related to both the Thai prime minister's shuttle diplomacy as well as the international conference on Cambodia in Paris. This is the way Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen put it: Although the conference was not successful, it cannot be described as a failure.

It happened that those attending the conference agreed on several areas which could serve as groundwork for future talks. Therefore one can always expect that the meetings in Bangkok this week will enhance that groundwork. From this perspective, one should give credit to the role played by the Thai prime minister who pronounced a policy of turning Indochina from a battlefield into a market place. Mainly due to the Thai prime minister's relentless efforts Thailand has strengthened its relations with its Indochinese neighbors. Now again, he has initiated a move contributing to the talks between the four disputing Khmer factions in order to find solutions to settle conflict. Mr Chatchai feels that the conflict has a direct effect on Thailand's security. The Thai Foreign Ministry spokesman asserts that Thailand did not provide weapon supplies to the Khmer resistance factions and never allowed Thailand to be used for the purpose. Whatever the case, it is a pity that not all parties have adopted such a sensible attitude.

The U.S. Administration announced a plan to supply the Khmer faction headed by Prince Sihanouk with more military assistance. Commenting on this, Senator Alan Cranston said the administration has given a green light and is only waiting for the military assistance to be carried out. The very person who supported this line, Senator Stephen Solarz now expresses doubt how appropriate such assistance is, destined to the weakest of the factions, because one can ever be sure into whose hands the assistance will finally fall. It can be added for clarity that the assistance will finally fall into the hands of the strongest, that is, the Khmer Rouge, which is busy stockpiling weapons and keeps sending reinforcements close to the Cambodian border. It should not be very long after the 26 September deadline when the last Vietnamese soldiers are to leave Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge's plan is no secret. Views were openly expressed at the international conference on Cambodia in Paris that there will be efforts by the Khmer Rouge to take over power and control Phnom Penh. One can imagine how much more the Cambodian people, who experienced the genocidal terror by the late Pol Pot regime, will have to suffer. How can we allow such a thing to happen?

It was no surprise that the Khmer Rouge used a propaganda ploy accusing Vietnam of not really pulling out from Cambodia but only carrying out troop rotations. What is surprising is that such deceitful propaganda was echoed by certain sectors outside Cambodia. Anyway, there is a proposal which sounds reasonable, that is, officials of the United Nations should be sent to Cambodia to supervise the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. The Thai prime minister is a person who supports this proposal.

Time is running out. All parties stand to benefit from the earliest, comprehensive, just and durable settlement of the Cambodian problem. This is in accordance with the hope expressed in the Soviet-Indonesian joint statement summing up the Indonesian president's visit to the Soviet Union that all parties involved should work more vigorously toward achieving that end. The statement also expressed belief that a settlement of the Cambodian problem will contribute to the strengthening of harmony, security and stability in Southeast Asia, thus paving the way for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in this region.

Commentary on Troop Withdrawal

OW1809073389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Commentary by station commentator Lebedev from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, according to Vietnamese Government sources, the last Vietnamese troops will leave Cambodian soil from 21 to 26 September. In this regard, our station commentator Lebedev comments as follows:

Western media have in the past few months run a number of not very optimistic commentaries on Vietnam's plan to pull out all its troops by the end of September. Hanoi, nevertheless, has kept its promise. Some 24,000 Vietnamese officers and men were pulled out of Cambodia from May to July. During the last phase of the troop withdrawal, 26,000 Vietnamese officers and men will return home along with their weapons and equipment. They will go back to Vietnam by land and sea.

The Vietnamese leadership's decision, I think, also reflects their strong confidence in the abilities of the Cambodian leaders that they can defend themselves without outside help against Pol Pot elements who have tried to seize political power through military means. The Vietnamese are also confident that the Cambodian leaders will persist in solving problems as they go along and will seek political solutions to the Cambodian issue.

It should be pointed out here that Vietnam has always stressed the temporary nature of its troops' entry into Cambodia. In the treaty of peace, friendship, and cooperation signed by the two countries on 28 February 1979—a little more than a month after the evil regime of

Pol Pot collapsed and Phnom Penh was liberated—it is clearly stated that the Vietnamese troops' stay in Cambodia would be temporary.

Vietnam's decision to pull out all of its troops from Cambodia has political significance since it will fundamentally change the situation in Cambodia. The opposition parties have in the past contended that their armed struggle was against Vietnam's occupation. That contention will now be meaningless. The furious and reckless activities of the remaining brigands of the Pol Pot regime are in effect aimed at expanding the armed struggle against the Cambodian people.

Cambodian leader Heng Samrin just concluded a visit to Vietnam. The joint communique of the two countries points out that the Cambodian opposition leaders are trying to make use of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal to alter the power structure to their advantage. In view of the possibility that the antigovernment forces may launch a massive military offense, Phnom Penh has taken appropriate measures.

Political mediation on the Cambodian problem will enter a new phase of importance in a little over 2 weeks after all the Vietnamese troops have been pulled out of Cambodia.

Soviet, Indonesian Views Identical on Cambodia

BK1709075289 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 16 Sep 89

[(Igor Karavayev) article]

[Text] The Cambodian problem, one of the longstanding conflicts in the region, still attracts international public opinion. The last Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from this country in the next few days. Comrade (Igor Karavayev) writes an article of which the essence follows.

In accordance with the agreement between the Vietnamese and Cambodian Governments, the last Vietnamese troops will leave this country before midnight on 26 September. I would like to recall another historic event that has been judged by many lately. I would like to talk about the international conference on Cambodia.

Listeners might ask: Why talk about what has already been discussed? It seems clear already that the conference did not give any hope, concrete results were not achieved, and prospects for a solution are at an impasse. This judgment has already been cited. I would like to note that some circles have most obstinately disseminated this view. It is this insistence that has pushed me to examine other views.

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar said the conference has blazed a peace trail for Cambodia. Malaysian Foreign Minister Abu Hassan Omar said ASEAN hoped for success in the search for a negotiated solution to the Cambodian problem. The Japanese paper, YOMIURI, writes: The Paris conference has outlined a general framework for a comprehensive solution. Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the State of Cambodia's Council of Ministers, said one cannot say that the conference ended in failure. Disagreement should be further discussed because the Cambodian problem can only be solved politically.

If one analyzes the above statements, the emotional disappointment expressed by countries attending the conference and by other countries yields a deep understanding of the significance of the work done in Paris.

The Soviet view on this might interest listeners. The international conference on Cambodia did not find a solution but it has strengthened the basis for continuing the common task and searching for a reasonable solution. The conference again affirmed that a solution to the conflict can only be found through negotiation. The majority of the international community's members agreed on this. This is a statement by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at a reception in honor of visiting President Suharto, leader of a country that pays attention to Cambodia's destiny and cochairman of the Paris conference. The Soviet-Indonesian talks in Moscow showed that President Suharto shared our view.

Delegation of CPSU Workers Visit Laos 5-13 Sep

PM1909101389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU workers was in Laos on 5-13 September in line with the plan for party ties between the CPSU and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) to be familiarized with LPRP activity and exchange experience in the sphere of foreign policy activity.

Laos's Phoumi Vongvichit Visits Moscow 8-13 Sep

PM1509092189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Stopping Over in Moscow"]

[Text] Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, stopped over in Moscow 8 through 13 September en route from Belgrade. Phoumi Vongvichit had a talk with R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, during which there was a discussion of questions of mutual interest.

Phoumi Vongvichit Interviewed

BK1809102989 Moscow in Lao to Laos 1300 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Dear listeners, as we reported earlier that Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the Political Bureau of the Lao

People's Revolutionary Party and acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR), stopped over in Moscow on his way from Belgrade to Vientiane capital. On Monday (11 September), he granted an interview to Radio Moscow's Lao Section.

Our radio correspondent asked: How do you evaluate the success of the 9th nonaligned summit which was held in Belgrade?

[Begin Phoumi recording] The ninth nonaligned summit was originally scheduled to be held in Belgrade from 4 to 7 September. Over 100 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America participated in the summit. There were also observation teams and delegations invited from European and other countries attending the summit. The summit unanimously accepted Venezuela, a country in South America, as a new member. The summit proceeded smoothly because the host country was well prepared for the meeting. During the summit, heads of delegations were able to express their opinions thoroughly and had the opportunities to meet and extensively exchange views in a cordial manner. I myself had separate meetings with the Presidium of Yugoslav and the president of that country to inform them of the situation in Laos and learned lessons from them on the construction of their country. At the summit room, I also met with heads of many delegations from socialist and nonaligned countries to present Laos' attitude toward the summit. The political and economic commissions conducted heated and long debates on the issues concerning the imperialist countries, Namibian problem, apartheid, the Afghan problem, the Middle East situation, Palestinian problem, and problems in Southeast Asia, Cambodia, Central America, and Nicaragua, indebtedness and revision of the international economic order, and the north-south and south-south cooperation. At the beginning [words indistinct] between the groups of countries struggling for peace, national independence, sovereignty, and social progress and the countries which disagree with socialism. At the same time, many countries [words indistinct] expressed their opinions. Finally, participants were able to reconcile and agreed to [words indistinct], thus further strengthening the solidarity of the nonaligned countries. The summit was continued until 3 o'clock on the morning of 8 September 1989 before it could pass the resolution. I am of the opinion that the ninth nonaligned summit was quite successful. [end recording]

How do the LPDR and other Indochinese countries contribute to the Nonaligned Movement?

[Begin Phoumi recording] The Lao and Vietnamese delegations met with other progressive delegations to patiently and humbly explain the reasons for amendments to documents, in a manner acceptable to other countries, in favor of the countries which are struggling for peace, national independence, sovereignty, and social progress. [end recording]

What is the attitude of the Nonaligned Movement toward the Cambodian problem?

[Begin Phoumi recording] Many countries call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the presence of a UN force to supervise the election. Many countries maintain that the recent Paris conference ended with a deadlock and failure. They want the Cambodian problem to be settled through peaceful negotiations. [end recording]

What is the LPDR's attitude toward the settlement of the Cambodian problem?

[Begin Phoumi recording] The Lao party and government also want the Cambodian problem to be settled through peaceful means. However, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia should be linked with the cessation of interference and military assistance from foreign countries to the Cambodian factions so as to prevent the Pol Pot genocidal clique from returning to power in Cambodia, because they intend to continue the implementation of their genocidal policy in Cambodia. The Cambodian problem must be left to various [words indistinct] in Cambodia to continue their efforts to solve themselves. The Paris conference was a step forward and the continuation of the past dialogues which were held in Jakarta and Paris. Without the unjustifiable interference and assistance from foreign countries, the negotiations among the Cambodian factions will meet with success one day in the future. Hence, foreign countries can expeditiously find ways to put that success into practice [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Near East & South Asia

Tarazov, 'Arafat Hold 'Unannounced Meeting'

LD2908214889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2015 GMT 29 Aug 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Baghdad, August 29 (TANJUG)—The Soviet foreign minister's special envoy Gennadiy Tarasov today met in Baghdad with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) President Yasir 'Arafat.

As learned, the unannounced meeting which was held behind closed doors focused on current developments in the Middle East, especially in the occupied Arab territories and in Lebanon. Tarasov and 'Arafat indicated the need for the soonest possible calling of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Observers here believe that the two sides have reached full accord and a closeness of views also on the resolving of the Palestinian problem and the crisis in Lebanon.

This especially pertains to the assessment that the two problems are intermingled, that one cannot be solved independently of the other.

Tarasov yesterday met with Iraqi vice-president and foreign minister Tariq 'Aziz, to whom he delivered a message from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Iraqi president Saddam Husayn.

The Soviet envoy tonight left Baghdad for Moscow.

Zotov Defends Syrian Military Presence in Lebanon

JN1909101689 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0840 GMT 19 sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (SANA)—The USSR ambassador to Syria, Aleksandr Zotov, has praised Syria's distinguished place in the Middle East and also with regard to Soviet-Arab relations.

Addressing a news conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry yesterday, Zotov described Syria as a basic key state in the Middle East and in Arab-Soviet relations.

Zotov affirmed that Syria is given close attention being a very important Middle Eastern state with a key role in that region, in Lebanon, and in the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular.

Zotov described Syrian-Soviet relations as multifaceted and very developed in all directions, saying both countries' viewpoints on many issues are also identical.

The Soviet ambassador expected the Arab Tripartite Committee's efforts to produce positive results, depending on the right internal conditions in Lebanon and continuous Arab support.

Zotov noted that although Syria is not a party to the Lebanese conflict, it is Lebanon's neighbor and an important factor in the situation there. The ambassador denied the existence of any differences between the USSR and Syria concerning a Middle East settlement.

Regarding the situation in Lebanon and Syria's position on it, the Soviet ambassador affirmed that the Syrians are sincere when they declare that the Lebanese issue cannot be solved by military means. He said Damascus has always called for Lebanese dialogue and an accord to help set up a central government representing the interests of all Lebanese. The Syrian position on Lebanon is constructive, he added.

Regarding the presence of Syrian forces in Lebanon, the ambassador affirmed that a Syrian military withdrawal from Lebanon would upset the balance of power there and not lead to positive results.

The Soviet ambassador concluded his news conference by saying that no Arab agrees to withdrawing Syrian forces from Lebanon and keeping Israeli forces there. He asserted that the Syrian forces' withdrawal from Lebanon will not benefit the Arabs, because the Syrian presence is aimed at maintaining the balance of power in Lebanon. The Syrian forces are a part of this desirable balance, he said.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopian Peace Talks Under Way in Atlanta

Commentary Views Progress

EA1409192289 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Commentary Feature: "Africa as We See It"]

[Text] Representatives of the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front EPLF are holding preliminary talks in Atlanta. On the face of it, the issues before the representatives at the Atlanta negotiations are not of great depth. The meeting will be concentrating on arranging procedural matters for substantive talks on the problem in northern Ethiopia, such as the date, venue and procedures to be followed. However, the present talks have attracted a great deal of attention, says our observer Aleksandr Mikhaylov. The basic question is, will the talks resolve the longest running conflict in Africa? It is 28 years since the fratricidal war in Eritrea broke out. This means that a child born 28 years ago has not seen a peaceful day in his life that is, up until the end of his youth. About 500,000 Ethiopians have lost their valued lives in this war. This is the price of secessionism. In addition, the already weak economy has been seriously damaged.

According to some estimates the Eritrean conflict is absorbing half of Ethiopia's budget, which leaves a major financial shortfall for the undertaking of development projects.

Since the two conflicting parties have agreed to hold the talks without preconditions, it is not yet known what kind of views will be presented in the process. The recently concluded Ethiopian Shengo ordinary meeting stated clearly that the problem should be resolved through peaceful means. The EPLF leaders have also repeatedly stated their desire for peace. It is obvious that the central Ethiopian Government and the EPLF will adopt a stance of support for the development of the country along socialist lines. The negotiators will be able to agree on points in this regard.

However, the future status of Eritrea will raise points of disagreement in the negotiations. The central government's position that Eritrea should remain part of Ethiopia and should be administered under the present Ethiopian Constitution seems to be a correct position. The EPLF position has been that either a referendum should be held or, at least, a comparatively wide autonomy should be given to the region. It was the differences on these points that brought about the failure of the Berlin peace talks of 1978. Consecutive talks in various European capitals from 1982 to 1985 also failed because of the EPLF position.

However, the mediator of the present talks, the former American President, Jimmy Carter, says the present situation is hopeful. He has said that the official nature of the present talks will oblige the two parties to present constructive ideas and to seek to avoid the failure of the talks. Observers also believe that there is another area for optimism, and that is the general improvement in the international situation.

Prior to the Atlanta meeting an intensive effort was made with regard to the issue at a meeting in which both Western and Eastern diplomats participated. Although they held different opinions on the Ethiopian internal problem, they all agreed that the Eritrean problem should be resolved politically. Much has been done up to now and today we shall follow this event very carefully. We will inform you of the developments at the peace talks in our programs.

Talks Evoke Optimism

PM1509153389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Demidov dispatch: "Thorny Path of Revolution"]

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa, Sept—[Passage omitted] There is no question that much has been done by the Ethiopian people since the revolution. However, their path has not been strewn with roses. Even to this day, according to UN classification the country is almost at the bottom of the list of least developed states in the world. According to official Ethiopian statistics, the average annual per capita income is now 146 birrs (just over $70). [passage omitted]

For a long time Addis Ababa regarded the state sector as the only panacea for all the country's economic ills. But in November last year the Ninth Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee Plenum reviewed the question of private capital investments in the country's economy. Presenting his report to the plenum, Mengistu Haile Mariam, the Ethiopian leader, said that using private capital to resolve the tasks facing the country will promote its economic development and help to overcome poverty and ease the problem of the shortage of essential goods. Almost 3 months ago the republic's State Council approved a package of decrees which give Ethiopian entrepreneurs and foreign capital fairly broad scope for using their forces and resources. Private business has been given greater freedom of action, mainly in agriculture, trade, and the organization of small industrial enterprises which may be formed on a concessional basis or in a joint-share arrangement with the state. There is also the possibility of joint ventures with foreign partners, which will be accorded taxation, export, import, and other concessions as well as preferential business terms.

There is no doubt that the situation in the north of the country is still Ethiopia's greatest source of pain. The bloodshed in Eritrea has been going on for 28 years. Forces in opposition to the government are seeking the secession of this autonomous province from the rest of the republic and the formation of an independent state. The war is burning enormous holes in the Ethiopian state budget, swallowing up the country's already meager material resources, and killing and maiming thousands of people.

There is only one way out of the deadlock: a political settlement reached through negotiation between the government and all interested groups and fronts in opposition to it. This is the aim of the new peace initiatives approved by an extraordinary session of the Ethiopian parliament, the National Assembly, at the beginning of June. The first preliminary meeting was held the other day in the American city of Atlanta between representatives of the Ethiopian authorities and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Of course, the dialogue is going to be long and difficult. But the very fact that it has at last begun inspires optimism and hope of success in the future. [passage omitted]

President Carter Cited on Talks

EA1509211889 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 10 Sep 89

[Text] Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has described the peace talks between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] as good. The negotiations are being held in Atlanta in the United States. The issues to be discussed during the negotiations include procedural matters related to further talks on ways and means of resolving peacefully the fratricidal war which has been going on for the last 28 years, as well as the date, venue, and agenda of the next meeting. Mr Carter also said that both parties had a genuine desire for peace. He said that they had agreed on certain points.

EPLF Leader Comments on Talks

EA1609200889 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] The leader of the organization struggling for the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] Isayas Afeworki, has spoken hopefully about the preliminary talks with the government. In a statement to journalists in Atlanta, in the United States, the leader detailed the progress of the ongoing talks between the EPLF and representatives of the Ethiopian government, in which former U.S. President Carter is acting as arbitrator. The objective of the talks is to prepare conditions which make it possible to embark upon negotiations to find a peaceful solution to the problem of northern Ethiopia, for which secessionists have fought for about 30 years. Isayas Afeworki, however, pointed out that until the substantive talks begin the EPLF's Armed Forces have no intention of halting their military activities.

Eritrea's 'Political Position' Debated

EA1809105689 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 15 Sep 89

[From "A Few Out of Many" program]

[Text] The preliminary talks between the representatives of the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] delegates are still continuing in Atlanta, USA. The talks are aimed at preparing the ground for talks to find a peaceful solution to the 28-year-old conflict in Eritrea. Aleksandr Mikhaylov presents the following commentary on the talks:

It was disclosed earlier that the participants would give no official statement before the end of this meeting. This being the case, it is not surprising that journalists are trying hard to get information so as to answer the questions as to what is going on at the premises of the observer of the preliminary talks, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

Staff members of the main world news agencies were eager to tell the world that the Ethiopian leader, Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, in his revolution day address on 12 September condemned the unwillingness of the EPLF for reconciliation, which meant the talks were on the verge of collapse. However, the Ethiopian Information Ministry reacted by saying that giving such a meaning to the speech of Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam was wrong. The Ethiopian leader spoke of being concerned that finding a peaceful solution could be delayed due to lack of initiative on the part of the opposition, the Ministry further elaborated.

Whatever the case, there is no doubt that practical deeds have more weight than words. The Ethiopian revolutionary leadership has taken tangible steps on the issue and there is evidence to support this. The peace initiative proposed by the Ethiopian Government last June was endorsed by the highest authority, the national Shengo, and hence became official government policy. This policy has been presented to the Atlanta talks without any precondition. In addition, the freeing of 200 political prisoners from Asmera is further evidence of the constructive approach of the Ethiopian Government.

The most important thing is the continuation of the Atlanta preliminary talks. The representative of the Carter Center, (Kerry Harmen), said the negotiators were eager for their talks to bear fruit. Jimmy Carter himself disclosed that the sides have so far agreed on 13 issues [as heard] and the dispute on which agreement has not yet been reached involves the future political position of Eritrea. It is known that the issue is very complex. It is to be recalled that the negotiators have so far been presenting one another with contradictory positions on this question. There is no doubt that the differences on the issue will not be overcome in one round of talks. The participants did not dream of (?achieving) this during the current Atlanta talks. The leader of the EPLF confirmed in his recent statement that he hopes the present meeting will form a favorable basis for future talks.

The words of the Ethiopian president saying that his delegation to the Atlanta meeting represents the Ethiopian Government, party, and, in general, the entire Ethiopian people and that it will do everything possible to fulfill the wishes and interests of the people should be particularly noted. As has been said earlier, it is the wish of the Ethiopian people to resolve the conflicts in the north of the country through peaceful means.

Parties Agree to 'Another Meeting'

EA1709205989 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Ethiopian Government and Eritrean People's Liberation Front delegates, who are holding peace talks in Atlanta, in the United States, have agreed on 10 points of the 13-item agenda. This was revealed by the mediator, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who also stated that since there are still issues to be resolved, the two parties have agreed to hold another meeting in an Arab or African country. The countries in which they agreed to meet include the Yemen Arab Republic, Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, he said. However, the date is not yet fixed.

Ethiopian Ambassador Interviewed, Lauds Regime

PM1509114389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Asrat Wolde, Ethiopian ambassador to the USSR, by Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov under the rubric "Today Is Ethiopia's National Holiday—The Day of the Revolution": "Asrat Wolde: Along the Path Chosen by the People"; date, place of interview not stated]

[Excerpt] Question: Ethiopia has been in a difficult situation since the first days of the revolution. However, we know that the Ethiopian Government and the Workers' Party of Ethiopia under the leadership of M.H. Mariam are insistently seeking ways out of the difficult situation. What has recently been undertaken in this connection? How could the present situation in the country be described?

Answer: Like in any social revolution, ours, too, had not just successes, but also bitter experiences. On the path chosen by the people we have encountered, since the first days, the furious resistance of counterrevolutionary forces who declared war on us. Great difficulties were caused by drought, and thousands of my fellow countrymen fell victim to famine. Not panicking and not losing hope, we implemented a program of action which enabled us to save the lives of many thousands of people. The world community gave a high evaluation of our efforts to resettle people from the drought-afflicted areas into fertile areas in order to end the drought problem once and for all. And although the opposition is trying to discredit this program in every way, it will not be able to play down the significance of what has already been achieved. I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Ethiopian people, to thank the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the world community for the assistance and support given to our struggle against the drought and its consequences.

One of the most serious problems which we inherited from the previous regime is still the problem in the north of the country. After the victory of the revolution, our efforts to unite all the Ethiopian people in working conscientiously were not understood by the separatists. As a result, the situation became even more complex, blood was shed, and the economic crisis deepened. In answer to our appeals for peace, only gunshots could be heard from the separatists. We had to use force against force, protect the revolution, and stand up for the country's unity and its very existence. However, even today we are not abandoning hope of a peaceful settlement with respect to the north. The recent extraordinary session of the National Assembly adopted a peace settlement plan which met with a positive response from the enemy. An agreement was reached on holding preliminary talks. Our peace proposals met with approval and support from the Soviet Government and the CPSU and all peaceful forces—which inspires us with hope and gives us renewed vigor.

Question: The Soviet Union and Ethiopia are linked by historical ties of friendship. A few years ago, while touring around the country, I came across evidence of this friendship. I was pleasantly surprised by ordinary Ethiopians' knowledge of the history of our country and its contemporary life. What are the paths for the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between our countries?

Answer: Our countries are indeed linked by the ties of an old friendship. It is well known that, from the 16th century, Russian scientists and voyagers studied Ethiopia and tried to familiarize their people with our country. The Soviet Government and the Soviet people made efforts to come closer to Ethiopia even before 1974. However, this evidently did not fit in with the plans of the old, feudal regime. Our revolution gave strong impetus to developing Soviet-Ethiopian relations. Today, close collaboration between our two countries is constantly deepening and expanding. The political, economic, and moral assistance and support which the USSR is giving to socialist building in our country has a special place in Ethiopian history. I consider that our countries must carry on efforts geared to developing and expanding close collaboration.

Question: The future of the revolution is inseparable from the future of the army. I happened to visit some Ethiopian training and military subunits and ships. I became convinced that the servicemen of the Revolutionary Armed Forces are patriots and reliable protectors of their native land. However, the recent counterrevolutionary rebellion attempt showed that there are individual soldiers who have not accepted the ideas of the revolution. How would you characterize the present state of the fighting spirit and morale of servicemen in the Army and Navy?

Answer: When we talk about the successes of the revolution, we have in mind primarily the Revolutionary Army. From the first hours of the revolution, which was spontaneous, the Ethiopian Army, which is composed mainly of working class people and peasants, took the leadership of the revolution and the country on itself in the absence of a leading political party and brought together the working people, and in this way it paid its historical debt to the motherland. The Army played an important role not just in protecting the achievements of the revolution. It also made a contribution to the work of creating our party, declaring the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and transferring the power into the hands of the people.

While the fighters of the Revolutionary Army, trained in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, are standing up for the unity of the country at the cost of their own blood and their own lives, a small group of power-hungry generals and officers recently made an attempt to overthrow the government. This attempt was quelled in time by the Army, which thus reaffirmed once again that it is an important bulwark of the revolution. [passage omitted]

PDRE Founding Anniversary, Progress Reviewed

EA1509221889 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 10 Sep 89

[From the "Major Events of the Week" feature]

[Text] The name, People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE], has been on political maps for the last 2 years. The establishment of the PDRE in 1987 marked the country's change from military to civilian rule. The Provisional Military Administrative Council or Dergue, which had been ruling the country for 13 years handed over power to the democratically elected National Shengo.

In accordance with the Constitution adopted by the new Ethiopian parliament, government authority and organization were to be restructured. In particular, it was decided to replace the old provincial administrators with elected self-governing bodies. Accordingly, last May, Shengo elections were held in 3 of the 5 autonomous regions and in 11 of the 25 self-administering regions. Though an unsuccessful coup attempt was made on the eve of the elections and the situation in the north of the country was chaotic, the masses' wide participation in the election confirmed their support for the formation of the Republic and the changes taking place in the country.

The recently concluded ordinary meeting of the National Shengo decided that elections will be held next year in the other regions. The Shengo proclamation on the popular election of district courts will make life in the country more democratic.

What are the achievements of the Republic since its inception 2 years ago? In the first place, it should be stated that the democratic process is gaining depth and will finally result in people's self-government. The PDRE leadership has adopted a peace initative which has created a conducive atmosphere for the commencement of negotiations with opposition parties.

In the economic field, however, there are several problems to be resolved. The civil war, repeated drought and the ups-and-downs of the international commodity market have been the bottle-neck for economic development. Despite all these problems, some negative aspects of the economy have been overcome for the first time. For instance, the agricultural sector has shown a growth of 6 percent which is more than the percentage population growth. GDP has grown by 4.5 percent. The Ethiopian parliament, being mindful of the need to improve the people's life, has passed decisions which are directed toward the economic recovery of the country.

The PDRE's principles, its efforts to resolve continental conflicts and bring peace, and its principled stand on the eradication of racism, colonialism, and apartheid on the African Continent have earned it respect not only in Africa but also internationally. Ethiopia's relations with European, Asian, and Arab countries have been strengthened. She is also making efforts to improve relations with the United States and other Western governments. Her traditional cooperation, for mutual benefit, with the USSR and other socialist countries has continued to yield better results.

East Europe

Hungary, Israel Resume Diplomatic Relations

LD1809174389 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest September 18 TASS—Hungary's Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens today signed and exchanged documents on the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the State of Israel.

The two countries now have diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, the Hungarian news agency MTI reported. In connection with the signing of the agreement the Hungarian Government expressed gratitude to the Swedish Government which ensured the representation of Hungary's interests in the State of Israel after the rupture of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations on June 12, 1967.

'Anti-Soviet Outbursts' Reported in Poland 17 Sep

LD1809214189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Various demonstrations took place in Poland last Sunday marking the 50th anniversary of the entry of Soviet troops into the territory of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia. A number of cities were unable to avoid anti-Soviet outbursts. In Warsaw, a small group of young men gathered outside the building of the embassy of the USSR shouting the slogans: Soviets go home, Down with the commune. In Krakow, participants in a demonstration went through the streets of the city shouting offensive slogans about the Soviet Union. Illegal extremist groupings organized a similar demonstration outside the USSR consulate in Szczecin. Demonstrators in Lublin demanded the demolition this year of a monument to Soviet liberating troops. The militia did not intervene in the course of events.

Levin on Problems Facing Polish Communists

LD1809184589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Presented by Pavel Kasparov]

[Text] [Kasparov] I have asked my colleague, the commentator Viktor Levin, to tell us about the especially acute problems which face Polish Communists today:

[Levin] It would probably be easier to name those problems which the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is not faced with, rather than list those which urgently demand a response. But such a comment, although it may sound dramatic enough, would not tie up with the real state of affairs, because the fact of the matter is that there are no problems in Poland today which could be described as secondary.

Let's take the political situation. For the first time in the whole of the country's postwar history, a government has been formed in which a communist is not at the head. True, this government reprsents all the country's main political forces; communists occupy four ministerial posts in it. Virtually everyone is now expressing the hope that the new government will succeed through joint efforts in extracting the country from the crisis, but the very structure of the government naturally gives rise to many questions among the communists which require a precise answer.

If you take the economic situation, it's not that it leaves much to be desired, but rather it couldn't be any worse, as they say. Suffice to say, the level of inflation has gone above 200 percent. And this indirectly affects the social situation. An unbridled rise in prices gives rise to natural dissatisfaction among the workers, and in various parts of the country, despite the efforts being made by all the political parties and groups, strikes are breaking out sporadically.

Alongside the need to work out a fundamental position on these questions, the PZPR must also determine how it sees its future. It seems to me that the Central Committee plenum, which has got underway, will place precisely this at the center of attention.

The Polish United Workers' Party must assess realistically, but at the same time in a critical manner, the path it has travelled and work out a strategy for the future. To sound the fanfares while drowning realities with false pathos is easier, and simpler, than analyzing in a profound and scientific way errors and miscalculations, and making impartial and at times dramatic conclusions. It would, of course, be wrong to nullify the whole of the path which the PZPR has travelled. It has played an outstanding role in Poland's postwar history. But obviously there have been mistakes and failures, too.

Judging from reports in the mass media, the debates going on in the ranks of the PZPR are acute ones. The Polish Communists, at least that section of them which has already made a self-critical analysis of the past and is resolutely doing away with its dogma and still-born schemes of the Stalin pattern, are demonstrating their readiness to place the people's objectives above narrow-party ones.

There is very broad discussion of the problem of the reformation of the party. The most diverse proposals are being put forward, even so far as the possible renaming of the party. More and more voices are being heard saying that a solution to the problems may be the creation of a new party of Polish left-wing forces. The position is being expressed, in particular, by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary. He believes that it is necessary to begin to create a powerful party of Polish left-wing forces with a radically extended social base. The party, Comrade Rakowski said recently, has for years grown weaker while having the instruments of power in its hands. Now it is getting rid of a lot of ballast and it now has an historic opportunity of strengthening is political viability and influence. And it is how to make use of this opportunity that Poland's Communists are currently debating.

Mazowiecki Call for 'Reconcilation' Cited

PM1409113389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "New Polish Government"]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Sep—Today's session of the Sejm, which the has been eagerly awaited by the public for several weeks now, has completed the protracted process of forming the new government. For the first time in Poland's postwar history it is headed by a non-party man, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, representing Solidarity.

The statement by the Polish Council of Ministers chairman on the cabinet's program and personnel was the key item on the agenda. In his speech T. Mazowiecki stressed that he represents Solidarity and champions its ideals. However, he cited the lessons of past years to advocate that the disputes and contradictions be overcome, that partnership ties be established, and that the thinking in terms of revenge for the past be abandoned.

Now, the speaker went on, Poland's two main problems confront us—the political restructuring of the state and country's recovery from a state of economic catastrophe. I am aware of the gravity of the situation and I know how difficult it will be to combine both goals and achieve them simultaneously, T. Mazowiecki noted. The new government will act in the awareness that at any moment the edifice of democracy in Poland, which has only just begun to be built, may collapse if the economy fails.

The government wants to cooperate with all parties and political groupings represented in parliament. We are in a completely new situation where all political forces must consider their role anew.

In general form T. Mazowiecki outlined the directions of the government's program in the economic sphere, where changes, he said, must catch up with the political reforms. Among the most important tasks he gave priority to the transition to the principles of the market economy, which have been "tried and tested in developed countries." The speaker said that the zloty should be strengthened and turned into a convertible currency, the equality of all sectors of the national economy must be ensured, and opportunities created enabling state enterprises to compete. The head of the cabinet promised to take immediate measures to curb inflation and reduce the state budget deficit. He expressed the hope that international financial organizations, friendly governments, and private banks will give Poland substantial help in the work of the major stabilization and fundamental restructuring of the economy. In this context the speaker noted the great significance of economic ties with the USSR and expressed Poland's interest in close contacts with the EEC.

On foreign policy problems, the Council of Ministers chairman gave an assurance that his government will respect Poland's international treaties and the ensuing commitments.

T. Mazowiecki dwelt in particular on Polish-Soviet relations. He stated that relations between a superpower such as the USSR and Poland, a country of average size and power, are a complex problem. As a rule, he said, a superpower demands the establishment of a sphere of security which it defines, which in practice is equivalent to a sphere of influence. The rational approach to this question must lead to a search for solutions which, on the one hand, take into account the interests of the big power and, on the other, respect the Polish state's sovereignty and complete freedom in the establishment of its internal systems. The government wants to form relations with the USSR on the principles of equality and respect for sovereignty. A bilateral alliance will be based on a firm foundation if it has society's approval. Favorable conditions for that exist today. T. Mazowiecki asserted that this will open the way to reconciliation between the Polish and Soviet peoples, which will end the negative experience of the past and may have historic prospects.

T. Mazowiecki's statement won the approval of parliamentarians. M. Orzechowski, chairman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies' Club, promised the new government support in the implementation of the initiatives and steps aimed at overcoming the crisis and strengthening the country's political and economic sovereignty. The party will approach the cabinet's activity guided by the social and economic interests of the working people and the principles of humane, democratic socialism.

With 402 votes for and 13 abstentions the Sejm approved the composition of the Council of Ministers proposed by T. Mazowiecki, which includes representatives of all the key political forces in parliament. The cabinet includes 12 members of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club representing Solidarity circles, 4 each from the PZPR and the United Peasant Party [ZSL], and 3 from the Democratic Party [SD].

Representatives of the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club have been given posts of deputy heads of government and combine that function with the leadership of specific ministries. Czeslaw Kiszczak (PZPR) has been confirmed as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and interior minister. The defense minister is Florian Siwicki (PZPR), the foreign minister is Krzysztof Skubiszewski (Citizens' Parliamentary Club), and the minister of foreign economic cooperation is Marcin Swiecicki (PZPR).

Jaruzelski Cited on Need for 'National Accord'

PM1509112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p7

[TASS report: "Realizing the Credit of Trust"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Sep—The exceptional importance of the historic moment now being experienced by the country in connection with the assumption of power by a new government was stressed by Polish President W. Jaruzelski during a meeting with T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and members of the new cabinet. He expressed confidence that all political forces will support the initiatives proposed by the government. The active involvement of the public combined with the new optimism give Premier T. Mazowiecki a large credit of trust right at the start. But everyday affairs and confrontation with harsh reality will step in very soon.

The president stressed that the Council of Ministers is faced with a problem: how to radically increase the efficiency of the national economy while simultaneously taking measures to protect the basic principles of social justice. All patriotic forces must play an active role in the process of seeking the optimum solutions for getting out of the present situation. It would be amoral to hope that the new government will "come unstuck," just as it would be to hope that the forces which used to be in power will be squeezed out of the political arena. Only a struggle against extremist trends and for national accord can give the government and, consequently, Poland a chance of emerging from the crisis.

In his reply, T. Mazowiecki said that at such an important time for the country the Council of Ministers can only be successful if it has the active assistance of the president.

Rakowski Discusses Current Status of PZPR

PM1509131789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "PZPR: Course of Change"]

[Text] It is necessary to start setting up a powerful party of Polish left-wing forces with a radically expanded social base. That was the appeal made to Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members and supporters by M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Speaking on Polish television Wednesday evening, he stressed that the party's former role can no longer be restored. The party has been growing weaker for years while holding the instruments of power in its hand. It is currently ridding itself of a lot of dead weight, and it has a historic opportunity to reinforce its political vitality and influence.

M. Rakowski noted that the party considers the main thrusts of the government's policy as set out in the policy speech by T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, to be correct. However, the changes that have occurred in the country, in his words, have engendered among PZPR members a sense of bitterness, disappointment, and lack of confidence in the future. These sentiments are also reflected in accusations against the party leadership. The question "Why did you give up so easily and quickly" is being voiced.

In order to answer this question we must remember that the policy of national consensus, reform, and the democratization of political relations was a PZPR initiative. This policy has been supported and continues to be supported by the overwhelming majority of party members and reflects society's aspirations. The party, M. Rakowski went on to note, is part of the T. Mazowiecki government, because the PZPR has been the guarantor of the country's existing favorable geopolitical makeup for the people since the beginning of postwar Poland. Thanks to the PZPR and Polish left-wing forces we have gained a place in Europe that our country never had during the period between the wars. Thanks to our foreign policy Poland has become a trusted partner for both East and West and an important factor in international stabilization. The maintenance of this position is necessary for the welfare of the reforms under way in

Poland, and this means that it will need a contribution and active participation from the party. Finally, the party bears some of the responsibility for ensuring that the great political changes currently occurring in Poland do not lead to domestic tension and conflict. We want the aim of these changes—socialism based on a healthy economy—to be achieved along the path of evolution.

In today's Poland "Solidarity" and the PZPR, with their supporters, continue to be the two main political forces, M. Rakowski stated. We are still divided by mistrust. The splits that are the legacy of the past can and must be overcome. Seeing the existence of different political forces and orientations, and supporters and opponents of the reform of the Polish system both within the country and abroad, the PZPR leadership considers it necessary to seek and create mutual understanding and cooperation with all people of different philosophies, both inside and outside the former opposition.

Every party leadership leading the PZPR from the Stalinist past to the modern socialism of the future will be subject to accusations both from conservative forces within the PZPR and from the former opposition, which, it seems to me, does not yet realize that the existence of a strong party of Polish left-wing forces rather than the weakening and fading away of the PZPR are in the interests of the state and the people, M. Rakowski stressed.

Polish Government Confirmation Considered

PM1909085389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[APN correspondent A. Bondar dispatch: "To Get Rid of the Sense of Hopelessness. Poland's Sejm Has Approved the Composition of the New Government"]

[Text] Warsaw—Yesterday in Poland, it seems, there was no one more tired than the country's premier. The very strenuous work of forming the cabinet and uniting into a single entity (time will show whether this is a real entity or only a relative one) the aspirations and goals of different political parties and movements took its toll during Tadeusz Mazowiecki's speech in parliament, APN's correspondent in Poland reports to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's editorial office. He did not feel well. He absented himself for approximately 30 minutes and then returned and continued his speech. So the opinion that the premier's destiny, like that, incidentally, of everyone who is now shouldering responsibility for Poland's future, will not be easy has received graphic confirmation.

The premier's speech contained many grave, albeit weighed and considered words. He spoke of the situation in the economy, calling it catastrophic. He said that production and output are declining rapidly and the prices and wages chase has exhausted people who are going on strike in order somehow to keep afloat, while at the same time realizing that the wage increase that they have secured will tomorrow be swallowed up by inflation. He spoke of debts and the ecological situation, which in some regions is close to being irreversible. He spoke of abnormal prices for meat products—the result of free prices and the producers' monopoly. In short, Mazowiecki presented an image which is probably closest to reality.

I will not comment on the paths which can be taken, in the premier's opinion, to extricate the country from the impasse, particularly as they have only been outlined without going into details. I wish to draw attention to just one thesis: It is necessary to reject the doctrine that it is possible to carry out reforms against the will of society, forgetting such a condition as democratization.

In a certain sense the government's new composition reflects more than ever before people's sentiments and the distribution of political forces. As the largest force in parliament, "Solidarity" has formed a government in which the majority of posts are held by its representatives—particularly in the economic sphere. The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is also noticeably represented in the cabinet, although at first there had generally been a question mark over its participation, still less its significant participation. Some people maintain that this accords with the party's significance within society and its position in the state structures. There is also another, more radical opinion: The departure from identifying the party with society (in this case, the PZPR with the Polish state) is not a one-off act but a process.

Representatives of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the Democratic Party [SD], and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP] have received the posts of deputy government heads, combining this function with the leadership of specific ministries. Czeslaw Kiszczak (PZPR) has been approved as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of internal affairs, Florian Siwicki (PZPR) has become minister of defense, Krzysztof Skubiszewski (OKP) minister of foreign affairs, and Marcin Swiecicki (PZPR) minister of foreign economic cooperation.

Naturally, the government includes representatives of the ZSL and the SD. Although here too, far from everything is simple. These two parties have joined a coalition with "Solidarity," having broken up the previous coalition with the PZPR. Have they gotten what they wanted? Not quite, it seems, including in the sphere of participation in the government. Discontent in the ZSL and the SD is very noticeable. And many people in "Solidarity" also express similar views. The new coalition is criticized from different positions, including for the fact that it includes parties or, rather, their leadership which is also responsible for the difficult situation in the country. Be that as it may, changes have already begun in the ZSL: The party's leader has resigned. Time will show what the situation will be in the SD.

Naturally, we are interested in what Poland's policy toward the Soviet Union will be like. The premier confirmed Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact. But he specified: an alliance—yes, but only in international affairs. Normal trade and economic cooperation will also continue between our two countries.

I took note of the Polish premier's following words: Poles must begin a new page in their history. The sense of hopelessness must be broken. Well, a new page really does lie before the country. What will be written on it? Time will show. So far only the first sentence has been written.

At any rate, the new government has already received a certain credit of confidence. Of the 415 parliamentary deputies, 402 voted for the composition of the new Council of Ministers. Thirteen abstained. No one voted against it.

Communist Role in Polish Cabinet Examined

PM1809090789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 3

[Special correspondents A. Drozdov and V. Shutkevich report: "Burden of Power. The Composition of the New Polish Government Was Ratified in Warsaw Yesterday"]

[Text] Poland has reached this day in a quite exhausted state. It was not just the system alone but the entire people who are weary. "We are a society of terribly weary people," Leon Bojko, our interlocutor from the GAZETA WYBORCZA editorial office, let drop in a very matter-of-fact way on the eve of Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki's parliamentary speech.

Then came unexpected confirmation of this. T. Mazowiecki's strength deserted him at the beginning of his speech. Breaking off his speech, he made his way from the hall with difficulty. The Sejm waited in suspense for almost 1 hour to hear what the medics would say. Deputies greeted T. Mazowiecki's return with a sigh of relief. This man has in a short time succeeded in becoming a symbol of reconciliation between domestic political forces.

Fortunately, the Poles have not as yet lost their ability to take an ironic view of themselves. Appearing on the rostrum once again, the 64-year old premier compared his physical state to the situation in the Polish economy. "I hope that we will nonetheless succeed in escaping from the crisis," he said.

This symbolic episode fitted "smoothly" into the cabinet of ministers' program which T. Mazowiecki presented to Poland's parliament.

What does it contain of importance for us—Poland's closest and most committed neighbors? Speaking on behalf of the government, in which 4 of the 23 posts have been given to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the head of the new Polish cabinet confirmed that relations with the Soviet Union are henceforth to be built on an interstate rather than an ideological basis. "Opportunities are opening up for us to build genuine friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples," T. Mazowiecki said. Poland is still loyal to the Warsaw Pact and intends to fulfill all its obligations to the other members of the Warsaw Pact. At the same time—as was said in the speech—Poland would be only too pleased if the military blocs were to break up in the future.

Appealing to the West, T. Mazowiecki called upon the most developed countries to give Poland urgent economic aid.

When assessing the government's views of economic reform, one can definitely say that a definitive transition to a market-oriented structure lies in store for Poland. The government intends to abolish subsidies to unprofitable enterprises and close down many of them. This will require certain sacrifices from society and will provoke dissatisfaction among workers. "But there is no other way," T. Mazowiecki said, "since wages must be earned honestly." "Honestly" in this context means backing every single zloty with a unit of output. At present such "honest zlotys" do not exist in the country. Judge for yourselves: According to the premier, this fall the level of inflation may reach 4,000 percent. What result may this have for the country? Strange as it may seem, we heard the toughest forecast from "Solidarity" representatives, who control the present government. They think that a social explosion in the country is not out of the question. That is only a forecast. But it is clear today that Mazowiecki's cabinet faces a hard choice: that of either curbing dissatisfaction by force or making concessions. If we are realists and realize clearly that politics are not for the squeamish, then strictly speaking there is no choice. Reforms are impossible amid an atmosphere of chaos. But using strong-arm tactics with the selfsame working class that "Solidarity" led in 1980 would mean undermining trust in the new authorities. In whom can we put our faith then, the Poles argue, if "Solidarity," which arose as an alternative to the PZPR, is capable of extremely unpopular methods of government?

Yet this is not only a "Polish" question, but also our question. But why do Slavs always need to have faith?! Maybe it would be better to know and follow the laws of social development? Reforms are a very sensitive issue. These involve intensive care rather than a mere antitetanus inoculation against tetanus that is all over after a slight spinal muscular spasm. What is the purpose of this medical analogy? We will explain as best as we can... Imagine the whole country on the operating table with a host of official and unofficial parties bustling around like healers (it is indeed a host in Poland): Can one really imagine members of an "ambulance" crew in an everyday situation doing battle with syringes for the right to inject the patient? Of course, that is stupid! But that is precisely the case in politics. Only Poland now needs a single prescription. It must be drawn up together—both "Solidarity" and the PZPR, which ceased to be the ruling party as a result of the elections, realize that.

Unfortunately, the PZPR had to undergo shock therapy in order to reach the conclusion that power is not the goal but the method. In the present situation the country can only be saved by intensive cooperation between all those people involved in the political process. As for the injection... Well, that will be left to the most confident person.

Here is what is alarming. The economic restructuring program was laid out yesterday in the most general terms. Is that a tactical maneuver on the part of T. Mazowiecki? No. The reform philosophy is at present confined to noting the need to overturn the administrative-edict system. But you don't policy merely from negation. The government has to elaborate a plan in the shortest time possible to shift Poland to a qualitatively new level.

All manners of constructive ideas, irrespective of where they originate, will come in useful for that. T. Mazowiecki's government formula presupposes precisely the enlistment of PZPR experience and knowledge and also that of other parties in the process of elaborating reforms. This is no mere routine homage to a former ruling party. The latter has yielded its position as leader, but that by no means signifies that it has ceased to be a political force. To prove this, Polish Communists must present striking and fascinating ideas. If that does not happen, doubts may be cast on EVERYTHING positive done by the PZPR since the war. It is very simple to say "system." But it is a system made up of people. People must feel free and tranquil. Both on earth as a whole and in the new Poland, too.

Commentary Scrutinizes New Polish Government

LD1609193589 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] The situation in Poland following the formation of a new government today is the subject of debate and analysis equally in Poland and far beyond its borders. Here is the view of Moscow Radio commentator Vasiliy Lesovik:

To my mind, the new cabinet has one undeniable advantage over the governments of the last few years. That is a credit of public confidence, the Moscow Radio commentator writes. To a large extent this credit has its basis in the legendary Solidarity. But we also know that legends are fragile and short-lived when they come up against hard realities. And in Poland right now the realities are as complex as never before. I am thinking above all of economic difficulties. While Poland was involved in politics its economy was like a ship without a crew, crossing a rough sea. Each successive composition of the Polish Government inherited a very unfortunate legacy, while the rapid cabinet changes merely multiplied the problems. The government of the present coalition is taking over the wheel of the ship just prior to a dangerous turn.

Over the last few days, Vasiliy Lesovik writes, I have been watching closely the new premier's numerous speeches and interviews. The most frequent notion behind the reticence and short statements was that the Poles should cope with the difficulties through combined efforts. Therefore the attainment of national reconciliation, the motto put forward by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] which is consistently implementing it, remains valid even now.

And here I would like to refer to President Wojciech Jaruzelski's statement during his meeting with Tadeusz Mazowiecki and members of the new cabinet. The president emphasized that it would be equally amoral to hope that the new government would stumble, as it would be to hope that forces which previously held the helm of power would be pushed out of the political arena. Only struggle against extremist tendencies and for national reconciliation can create for the government, and thus for Poland, opportunities for overcoming the crisis.

In his recent speech before Polish television cameras, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, spoke about the communists' readiness to take part together with all patriotic forces in the government's search for the best solutions. Therefore political emotions become a secondary issue. Now there is arduous and most difficult work for overcoming the economic crisis. Effective slogans and ingenious posters are not going to help in this, as it needs a thoroughly considered and balanced programe which would enable Poland to enter a road of stabilization. That is undoubtedly the most difficult and most important task for any government which intends to stay at the helm of power for any length of time. Consequently, just like every Pole, as the closest neighbors we are awaiting with hope and great interest the first steps in the concrete activity of the new Polish Government, Vasiliy Lesovik emphasizes in conclusion of his commentary.

Polish Monetary Inflation, Hardships Described

PM1409150989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by Special Correspondent I. Nekrasov under the "Warsaw Reportage" rubric: "Hopes Justified?"]

[Text] These days in Poland you increasingly frequently hear the phrase "Zyjemy w ciekawych czasach." However, people say it in different ways: Some with optimism, some with ill disguised anger. What does it mean, this phrase which translates as "We live in interesting times"?

From early morning queues form in front of the food stores and especially the meat stores. Prices are rising at a fantastic rate. Even while you're waiting in line, as Poles remark with irony. I recall a minor scene in a large food store. You should have seen the astonishment in the eyes of the elegant young lady who had come with her daughter to buy bread, milk, meat, and some other small items. When the total price appeared on the cash register the salesgirl had to explain to the dumbfounded customer that those prices had been fixed a long time ago, as far back as... the previous day. Various tables of figures showing how to manage your domestic budget thriftily are quite popular in Poland nowadays. There was one in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC recently. For example, according to the most modest estimates a family of four needs Z303,720 a month for food and the most basic items (newspapers, everyday services, and transport) plus two ice creams and a bar of chocolate. However, if you take into account the fact that not everyone in Poland today earns even R200,000 a month it is easy to see the difficulties of keeping the family budget afloat.

Furthermore, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC stresses that the cost of the products in its calculation shows the situation at the end of August. Therefore many of the figures will need adjustment. And they have to be made virtually every day. But despite the fact that meat prices have jumped sharply the waiting lines in the stores have not decreased. As usual meat can most often be bought in the mornings only. The stock of cheap goods is continuing to disappear—there is a marked shortage of soap, matches, razors, school accessories, and inexpensive clothing. The prevailing economic situation seriously worries everyone regardless of their membership of particular political or social organizations. That is why people were particularly impatient for the confirmation of the new government under Mazowiecki's leadership. The Council of Ministers is inheriting a difficult legacy: the increase of social tension, a foreign debt of $39 billion, rampant inflation, and a commodity shortage demand the earliest possible solution. Let us note in particular the position of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] leadership, which stated that it rejects the thesis that "the worse it is for the government, the better." In the opinion of the party activists with whom I have met, the most important thing for the PZPR was and remains the good of the people and the interests of the people.

However, if the strike activity in the country has diminished somewhat in comparison with August, one can now also hear criticisms of the new coalition represented by the majority both in government and parliament. The recent rise in gasoline prices alone (from Z350 to Z500 a liter) provoked a storm of discontent throughout the country. Furthermore, the problem was exacerbated by the fact that literally the day before there was an official announcement that the price for gasoline would remain unchanged.

Incidentally, prices for meat products are far from uniform across the country. Prices in Warsaw are considered among the highest. In a number of other parts of Poland meat can be bought more cheaply. Many people in the country think that the decentralization of the state purchasing organizations will make it possible to resolve the problem of supplying the market with meat products. After all, essentially the Polish peasant has gained virtually nothing from the fact that market factors have become predominant—he still sells meat to the purchasing organizations at quite low prices. That is why the peasant is in no hurry to produce more. In short, until there is an incentive for the rural worker you can hardly expect a dramatic improvement in this sphere.

Nor can you fail to notice the fact that despite the shortage of goods in the market, Poles are very well dressed. This is possibly because virtually every citizen can leave the country, earn money abroad, and return home. And many do just that. That is why there is nothing surprising in the fact that Poles' purses often contain both zlotys and dollars, Deutschmarks, and francs. Quote a few exchange bureaus have appeared in the country where you can buy and sell foreign currency. By the way, the dollar exchange rate is rising incredibly fast—at the beginning of September alone it rose from approximately Z9,000 to Z12,000 to $1. At the same time more people prefer to keep several banknotes of convertible currency rather than sell them for ever increasing wads of zlotys. Incidentally, there is also considerable demand in these exchange bureaus for Soviet rubles, the rate for which is higher than the official one.

In the Polish capital you can see quite a few changes today. Construction work is in progress virtually everywhere in the center and huge fences make life difficult for drivers. The Warsaw subway is under construction, as it has been for a number of years. The walls of many apartment blocks are still plastered with election posters and leaflets. Around the cafe Niespodzianka (the name means "Surprise"), Solidarity badges, sports shirts, and stickers are on sale. I must say, I didn't notice any special activity there. The prices for these items were high and Varsovians, it seems, prefer now to see the concrete results of changes rather than the symbols. Especially since it is now a Solidarity prime minister who has to resolve the current problems.

Polish Navy Scheduled To Visit Riga 21-25 Sep

LD1809185289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—Under an agreement which has been reached, a detachment of ships of the Polish Navy, comprising the big antisubmarine vessel "Warszawa" and two medium landing craft under the flag of Commander of the Polish Navy Rear Admiral Kolodziejczyk, will pay an official visit to the port of Riga from 21 to 25 September.

West Europe

UK's Thatcher Stops Over in Moscow on Way to Japan

Primakov Meets Thatcher

LD1809171889 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—The plane with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain made today a technical stopover in Mosocw on its way to Tokyo. Thatcher was met at the airport by Chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yevgeniy Primakov and other officials.

They had a brief conversation covering international and bilateral issues which the sides wished to raise on the eve of the Soviet-British working summit due on September 23.

Present during the conversation were Soviet ambassador to Britain Leonid Zamyatin and British ambassador to the USSR Rodric Braithwaite.

Thatcher on Gorbachev's 'Difficult Job'

PM1909152589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "M. Thatcher Interview"]

[Text] The Soviet leadership headed by M.S. Gorbachev is implementing reforms in the USSR, relying on profound vision and firm resolve.

This is what Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain has said in an interview to the Japanese NHK television company in connection with her upcoming visit to Japan.

Replying to a question about her impending working meeting with the Soviet leader, which will take place during her brief stopover in Moscow on her way from Tokyo to London, the head of the British Government said: I never miss an opportunity to meet M.S. Gorbachev, whom I deeply respect. I believe that he is a man with broad horizons and great courage. He is implementing bold reforms because the measures that were adopted in the past did not seem to enhance the dignity of the individual or economic prosperity. Therefore he is seeking to give people greater freedom. I have always taken the view that this is an extremely difficult job.

UK Defense College Delegation Visits Leningrad

PM1509151589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Streltsov report: "Stay in Leningrad"]

[Text] Leningrad, 9 Sep—A delegation from Britain's Royal College of Defense Studies arrived in the Soviet Union yesterday. The guests from Britain visited the A.A. Grechko Naval Academy. In the course of meetings with the command, professors and teaching personnel, and the academy's students, the guests inquired about the system for training officer cadres within the USSR Armed Forces under conditions of perestroyka of higher education and were familiarized with the departments' educational base.

Shevardnadze Aide Talks to Cypriot Leaders

PM1909151989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to Cyprus"]

[Text] Nicosia, 15 Sep—N.N. Afanasyevskiy, chief of a USSR Foreign Ministry Department, who is in the capital of Cyprus as personal representative of the USSR foreign minister, has been received by President Y. Vasiliou of the Republic of Cyprus.

He had a talk with Foreign Affairs Minister Y. Iakovou on the Cyprus problem and some other topical international problems.

The Soviet representative paid a call on R. Denktas, leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community. In a frank conversation the state and prospects of the negotiation process in Cyprus were discussed.

N.N. Afanasyevskiy also met with J. Hutter, acting special representative of the UN Secretary General in Cyprus.

The meetings and talks were attended by Yu.Ye. Fokin, Soviet ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus.

Nikitin Receives Swedish Business Delegation

PM1909120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Delegation"]

[Text] On 18 September V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received a delegation from the Tetra Pak Swedish group of companies headed by its president, B. Hagman.

During the talk there was an analysis of the results of cooperation and measures were outlined to expand the economic ties between Soviet agro-industrial organizations and the Tetra Pak group of companies.

Soviet, Swedish Economists End Roundtable Meeting

LD1509144589 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—"The second stage of the Soviet-Swedish round-table discussion on the economic and social development of the USSR and Sweden has enabled the two sides to exchange valuable experience and deepen their understanding of economic processes in the two countries," a Soviet co-chairman of the "round-table" told newsmen here today.

Anatoliy Milyukov, deputy head of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Social and Economic Department, was commenting on the results of the five-day discussion of various aspects of the two countries' economic development and issues of market and money circulation management.

The head of the Swedish delegation, State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Michael Sohlman, observed that the exchange of views was open and constructive in character.

The Swedish participants in the discussion had a unique opportunity to discuss and analyse at a high professional level problems that are emerging in the pursuance of economic reforms in the USSR.

The sides agreed that the third round of their discussions will be held in Stockholm next year.

Joint working groups will be set up to consider specific issues in such areas as taxation and principles of transition to currency convertibility and price formation, which will make it possible to maintain a practically non-stop dialogue.

Abalkin Describes Reform Plans to Swedes

PM1909160189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 89 p 3

[A. Afanasyev report: "'Swedish Door' Opened"]

[Text] It will no doubt be of interest to those readers of our newspaper who take a close interest in the development of Soviet-Swedish relations (see the series of articles entitled "The Swedish Door" in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9, 13, 16, and 17 August 1988) to learn that a second roundtable of the kind in which scientists, financiers, and politicians traditionally take part has been held in Moscow. (The leader of the delegation of visitors was M. Sohlman, Swedish deputy foreign minister, and the leader of the Soviet delegation A. Milyukov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department).

A meeting was held in the Kremlin as part of the roundtable talks at which our Swedish guests were received by Academician L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The discussion which followed was far from dry or formalistic. Two key elements of reform—taxation and pricing—constituted the main topic of discussion. Leonid Ivanovich briefly described the draft program which the commission under his leadership intends to present to the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. This program is expected to be implemented in three stages. The preparatory stage continues up to 1991 (measures to improve finances and overcome the budget deficit and the approval of individual elements in a system of extraordinary measures). In 1991, the switch will be made to introducing a system designed to ensure that a major radical step in the economy is implemented in 5 years. By all accounts, the most important points in the program under preparation are a new taxation system, regulation of profit (the hope is that fixed taxes, replacing ministerial normatives, will finally wrest enterprises from the stifling embrace of departments), and a different approach to ownership from today's (not ownership by the state or by all the people, but 1—federal, 2—union republic, and 3—local). The final step, it is expected, could put local and republic authorities in charge and provide the economic base for political reform. It is also intended to introduce three kinds of taxes—union, republic, and local. (All the ideas are, of course, still at the development level, and the final decision depends on the government and the Supreme Soviet).

From the visitors' standpoint, the price reform should be the basic point. Mr Sohlman observed that that he saw the kind of serious political problems that could arise in this connection in our country. You have stretched out the time, he said, but such a reform merits even partial implementation. That is essentially the common opinion of our visitors. One of them observed: Prices are the blood vessels of the economy, and moreover you are saying you without the emergence of a market there will be no effective prices; but surely no market can take shape without effective prices.

What is the solution? It will no doubt have to be sought and created together. While relying completely on the authority and experience of the new deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, it is clearly essential to provide a sober account: We cannot do everything here in isolation; a definitive, realistic program, with strong support, and energetic implementation of that program are essential.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further Reportage on 10-14 Sep Nicaraguan Visit

TASS Summarizes Visit

LD1509221389 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—A delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua was staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit from September 10 to September 14 at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The delegation was led by Carlos Nunez Tellez, president of the National Assembly, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

Conversations were held at the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for international affairs, at the Central Election Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies, at the Soviet Peace Foundation and the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Latin American Peoples.

The Soviet side emphasised that the USSR welcomes steps of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and other Nicaraguan political forces toward achieving national accord in Nicaragua and holding democratic elections.

When the world situation was discussed, the sides expressed the opinion that the present-day international situation is characterised by the consolidation of positive tendencies, a turn from confrontation to cooperation, the establishment and intensification of versatile contacts between different countries, political and social forces.

The sides emphasised the existence of progress toward the settlement of a number of regional conflicts. At the same time, the common opinion was expressed that tension persisting in some areas of the world is a serious destabilising factor in international politics.

Much attention was given to the discussion of the present situation in Central America. The sides emphasised that due to efforts taken by Central American countries specific arrangements have been reached. They outline practical ways of settling the crisis in the region.

The Nicaraguan delegation described the steps of the country's leadership taken in the framework of the Guatemalan process. Special attention was given to the further democratisation of the life in the country, the widening of the opposition's rights during the election campaign and in the use of the mass media, the creation of conditions to reintegrate former Contras into the peaceful political affairs.

Deputies from both countries emphasised the importance of political settlement of the conflict in Central America by peoples of the region themselves on the basis of giving up power methods of resolving the crisis, finding mutually-acceptable solutions to the existing problems, establishing good-neighbourliness and equal cooperation among countries of the region and respect for the choice made by their peoples.

When problems of world economics were discussed, the sides declared in favour of restructuring international economic relations on an equitable democratic basis, for ensuring international economic security, for developing commercial, economic, scientific and technological ties between states without any discrimination.

They emphasised it is impermissible to use financial and economic levers for interference in internal affairs of sovereign countries, for bringing political pressure on them. Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and deputies of the National Assembly of Nicaragua expressed satisfaction with the development of the traditionally friendly Soviet-Nicaraguan relations.

Further on Lukyanov-Nunez Talk

PM1209134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "Conversation in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 11 September A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received C. Nunez, speaker of the Nicaraguan National Assembly and member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, who is heading a Nicaraguan parliamentary delegation in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a frank, comradely atmosphere, they discussed topical international problems and some questions of Soviet-Nicaraguan cooperation.

The speaker of the Nicaraguan National Assembly was briefed on progress at the present stage of restructuring in the political and economic spheres, transformations in the national state structure, and the process of building a rule-of-law state in the Soviet Union. A.I. Lukyanov dwelt on the Soviet experience of preparing and staging elections, the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the work of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. During an exchange of opinions on key international problems the attention of the Nicaraguan guest was drawn to specific Soviet foreign policy initiatives which aim to ensure universal peace and security, develop normal, civilized relations between states, and establish the principles of new political thinking, humanism, and the priority of common human values in world affairs.

C. Nunez talked about progress in talks to resolve the regional conflict in Central America and about Nicaragua's efforts to fully honor its pledges to reach a political settlement in this region, democratize social life in the country, and prepare for general elections. The Soviet side stated its support for this line of action by the Nicaraguan leadership in domestic and international affairs and also the Soviet Union's willingness to do its utmost to contribute to improving the situation in Central America.

The sides expressed mutual satisfaction with the high level of development of relations between the two countries' highest legislative bodies and stressed their readiness to strengthen these relations further and give them new substance in the interests of the two countries' peoples.

The delegation had a conversation at the USSR Supreme Soviet the same day.

Commentator Views El Salvador Negotiations

PY1609125889 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] The meeting between the delegations of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] and the Salvadoran Government has ended in Mexico. Here is the opinion of commentator Leonid Levchenko:

The first impression one gets from the meeting is that it did not yield any immediate results. The meeting was not easy, of course. The talks were held behind closed doors, but the fact that the meeting extended into the morning of 15 September is proof that both parties are serious.

That is, after all, what dialogues are for. Each party presents its proposals and tries to challenge those of the other party. It is possible, however, to reach an agreement if the parties can overcome contradictions and obstacles. The stakes are just too high: saving human lives.

Nearly 70,000 men have died in El Salvador in almost 10 years of civil war. The economic damage is great. Thousands of people have been forced to leave the country and live as refugees.

The Mexico meeting was carried out in accordance with a Central American presidential agreement on a political solution to Central American conflicts. The Salvadoran guerrillas, as well as Alfredo Cristiani's government, have shown that they are convinced that the most complex problems can and must be peacefully resolved through a dialogue.

The first concrete result was the agreement to continue the dialogue. The guerrilla delegation also offered to continue the process with the mediation—or presence—of the United Nations, the Organization of American States, or the Salvadoran Catholic Church.

Both parties accepted a government proposal through which a commission made up of an equal number of members from each side will work on an agenda for a cease-fire and on what is needed to allow the FMLN to participate in the country's political life.

The process of national reconciliation will not be easy, but we wish them good luck. The well-being of the Salvadoran people is at stake.

U.S. TV Station Beamed at Cuba Called 'Aggression'

PY1809144489 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 17 Sep 89

[By Soviet correspondent in Cuba, Viktor Gorbachev]

[Text] The United States is preparing a new aggressive act against Cuba: This time it is the installation of a television channel beamed to Cuba. It is called Jose Marti Television, and everything seems to indicate that this aggression will be launched before the end of this year. The North Americans want to place a blimp equipped with advanced thechnology instruments at an altitude of approximately 4,000 meters above the Florida Strait to beam signals to Cuba. The idea is thus to occupy one of the local television channels.

There is no doubt that this is an unprecendeted plan that violates many roles of international law and civilized conduct among states. The Jose Marti Television channel is a new form of intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba and is clearly intended to destabilize its government. If the 30-year old anti-Cuban policy of the United States and the content of Radio Jose Marti programs are considered, no other conclusion can be made regarding the purpose of Jose Marti Television.

Furthermore, the U.S. Administration is disregarding the International Television Communication Convention that established clear rules on the subject. According to this convention, the signatory states must not set up any interference harmful to any other states' facilities. Television signals are considered to be domestic signals and must not cross state boundaries. As I have said, in this case the North Americans intend to take over a Cuban television channel.

The Cuban Government views this attempt at invasion of its national radioelectronic space as an attack on the nation's sovereignty, and is gearing up to repel the imminent invation through technological, political, and diplomatic measures. In the conflict that is shaping up, Cuba can count on international support. The tele-aggression plan has been condemned by the Nonaligned Movement and is being repudiated in Latin America. The Jose Marti Television channel created a precedent among the hostile acts of U.S. imperialism. In the future, the United States may repeat the same form of aggression against any other country of the Third World.

This is all for the time being. Viktor Gorbachev, Radio Moscow correspondent in Cuba.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Opens CPSU Party Plenum 19 Sep

LD1909092789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the opening of the CPSU Central Committee plenum in the Kremlin on 19 September—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, 244 members of the CPSU Central Committee, 105 candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, and 68 members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission have come to the Central Committee plenum. Ten people are absent for valid reasons. We thus have all the grounds for starting work. What is your opinion? [noise from the audience] No objections. I declare the plenum's work open. Our plenum is an extended one, comrades. Participating in its work are the first secretaries of union republic communist party Central Committee's, and of the party committees of krays obkoms and okrugs; the second secretaries of union republic communist parties Central Committee's; the chairmen of the union republic supreme soviet presidiums and councils of ministers; ministers and the leaders of central departments and organizations; the commanders of military districts; and the chiefs of political directorates, who are not members of the party Central Committee. The chairmen of committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a group of cultural and scientific figures, and representatives of the mass information media also have been invited to the plenum. Well, the Politburo took it upon itself to invite these comrades, and they are here. I hope that you support this opinion on the participation of these comrades of whom I have spoken. Well, comrades? No comments? Good.

One issue must be discussed with you. In light of the fact that such great interest is being shown in the agenda, not only in the party, but also in society, and—let us speak plainly—in the world, we have decided that it is perhaps worth making a recording and broadcasting it at a convenient time in the evening so that people can become acquainted with the plenum's work on these important issues. We do not really have any closed issues here, as they say.

On the agenda: the following issues are submitted for examination by the plenum:

First, the convocation of the regular 28th CPSU Congress;

Second, the nationalities policy of the party under contemporary conditions.

Permit me to deliver a brief report on the first issue on the agenda, the convocation of a regular party congress. As you know, comrades, the issue of convening a CPSU congress is being discussed actively in the party. Moreover, different opinions are being voiced about when it is to be held, about its nature, and about the agenda. In one case they are talking about a party congress that is not a regular one, and is even an extraordinary one; in another case, they speak of bringing forward the regular 28th CPSU Congress. There are opinions that favor not changing anything and holding the congress at the established time. Society's great interest in this issue—and I think the Politburo has the same opinion, the same assessment—is convincing evidence of our people's understanding of the significance of the (?role) played by the CPSU in the country's destiny.

Soviet people connect the success of further revolutionary transformations on the paths of perestroyka with the party, in the first instance, and with its political and practical activity. Having considered the present situation in an all-round fashion and also the character of the problems facing the country which need to be understood, the politburo has concluded that it would be expedient to bring forward the convocation of the regular party congress and hold it in the second half of October 1990.

Time is passing quickly. Perestroyka, which the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and then the 27th party congress began, is now passing through a crucial, I would say, critical stage. Stormy and revolutionary changes are happening in society. A feature of the moment is that in all directions the concept of perestroyka has come into direct contact with life; the practical transformation of economic and political structures is occurring, and new forms and methods of management are being mastered. We can say with justification that our society in the last few years has come a long way, it is certainly so.

We are talking about a breakthrough in the country toward democracy, freedom, and glasnost; about a decisive reevaluation of obsolete theoretical concepts; and a revolutionary renewal of society. If we evaluate all of this as a whole then the country is completely different from the way it was at the beginning of the Eighties. It is a different matter that we are still a long way from the great goal that we have set ourselves—the gaining of a qualitatively new condition of our society and a new humane, democratic face of socialism. For this it is necessary to deepen the concept of perestroyka and to put it into practice, relying on its own base and on the experience amassed by the party and the people in recent times. The past period has been saturated with a constant search of all directions of our policies—economic, social, cultural, and ethnic. But real life and the restructuring processes are going at such a speed that we often cannot keep up with them.

Much that appeared to be true earlier fails to satisfy us today. Despite all of the innovative decisions of the 27th CPSU congress and even the directives of the 19th party conference, which were adopted scarcely more than a year ago, we have to move further and seek new approaches and solutions.

The dynamism of perestroyka and the depth of the improvements that are taking place are unprecidented in character. They give rise to an impetuous reaction in public consiousness. This is natural. It cannot be otherwise. During the course of the discussion, evaluations of the processes that are taking place in society are given that are not straightforward and sometimes mutually exclusive. Various opinions are expressed about how the diverse tasks that face us should be tackled in practical terms. These discussions touch not on some kind of secondary points but on cardinal issues of the life of our society. It is a question of the ways of renewing socialism, of the further improvement of our union state, of the character of power at the stage of perestroyka, the further democratization of all areas of life, and the role of the party under present conditions. At the center of public opinion are matters concerning the character of socialist property and ways of realizing the potential within it; the position of the person in socialist society, and the role of our country in today's world, which is changing rapidly and which is also passing through a stage of great change, is also actively discussed. There is no need to mention the need to develop creative discussion in the party. Indeed, it is already in full swing: the question is to ensure that this discussion is as constructive in character as is possible, that it helps to consolidate both the party itself and all public forces that take up positions based on perestroyka, to get rid of the confusion in people's minds and sometimes moods of panic, too. The need to bring forward the date for convening the congress is dictated not least by the need to carry out a profound renovation of the party itself, to take into account its new role as the political vanguard of society at the restructuring stage. The party now must work vigorously and creatively. Nowadays the work of party bodies and organizeations is fettered in many respects by old structures, by obsolete rules and instructions. The commitment of some cadres to old stereotypes has its effect. We cannot leave things in that state, for now that profound economic and social processes are under way and there is an ideological and political struggle going on around the key problems of society's development, the word of the party, its stance, and the organizational and ideological work of the CPSU are of exceptionally important significance.

This is a great and complicated question: where is the party going ahead, and where is it lagging behind? I would not simplify it, as many do. Some try to create the impression that the revolutionary changes marking these years were wrought without the party, so as to portray the party as a conservative force. Others see in our self-criticism a symptom of the party yielding up its political and ideological position and retreating from the fulfilment of its political role.

I believe we must speak out quite clearly on this point: The CPSU put forward the initiative for the revolutionary restructuring and democratization of society, and it firmly intends to go down this road. It is precisely the party's responsibility to the working class and all our peoples that obliges it to be particularly exacting with regard to itself and to confirm by action its right to the role as the vanguard of society. It must be admitted frankly that a number of links in the party, as well as some cadres and Communists, are slow to make use of the full wealth of the innovative ideas drawn up during restructuring under the leadership of the CPSU, which have set the whole of society in motion. We lose a lot through this. Now we are particularly in need of initiative, a businesslike attitude, and creativity in our work.

The habit of waiting for instructions and recommendations from above on every matter must be overcome decisively. Independence must be displayed in one's work. We have major program solutions which embrace every aspect of restructuring; and these are indeed the very political landmarks on the basis of which all levels of the party, party organizations, and communists should act.

We see the party as the repository of the program goals of restructuring, as a uniting and consolidating force. Having come forward with ideas on a profound democratization of society, the party is simply obliged to restructure its own activity on democratic principles and to strengthen its own ideological unity based on the platform of restructuring. Only such a party, renewed and profoundly democratic in its very essence, will continue to lead the masses behind it.

The current report back and election campaign in the party is very important in this respect. It opens up the opportunity to profoundly analyze the burning topics of the country's life and the situation in the relevant party organization, to define specifically the tasks facing that organization, and to appoint and empower people capable of moving ahead the cause of restructuring.

We take as our point of departure that the prepations for the congress and the report back and election campaign preceding it will make it substantially possible to renew the composition of the party leadership at all levels. This refers to the Central Committee, too, the role of which is increasing for understandable reasons. It must take in the most creative forces of the party, working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia of all strata of society which are the most devoted to the cause of restructuring.

During the preparations for the congress and at the congress itself, I think we must discuss what sort of new Central Committee we want to see, how we should go about forming it, and how it should operate to fulfil its responsible mission.

Taking what I have said into account, the Politburo is of the opinion that the congress agenda could be as follows:

1. Report of the CPSU Central Committee on the progress of restructuring and the tasks of the party;
2. The report of the CPSU Central Auditing Committee;
3. On the CPSU statute;
4. Elections of the party central bodies.

Such an agenda will make it possible to sum up the results of the precongress discussions and to adopt a program of action for the immediate future.

Now, about some specific issues relating to preparing for the congress. It is possible, with the aim of beginning discussion of the issues that will be discussed there, to prepare and, in spring 1990, to publish the political platform of the CPSU Central Committee. This could, following discussion of it at the congress, be presented as an action program for the immediate future. This will, basically, contain a response to the question often raised by communists on the adoption of a new CPSU program.

We have discussed this matter in the Politburo and we have come to the following conclusion: It is quite obvious that restricting ourselves to partial alterations in the existing program will not succeed. However, to compile a new document of such scale and significance, we still need to build up our theoretical knowledge and practical experience in the course of implementing the political line toward restructuring. It is therefore proposed that a program document for the immediate future should be adopted at the congress.

As far as the rules are concerned, it is necessary to make law the measures for comprehensive democratization of the party which have already been outlined by the 19th all-union party conference and to consolidate much that has now become part of the lives of party organizations. Substantial innovations concerning the formation of the party composition; the rights and duties of communists; the status of various party structure and the principles for interaction between them, and their relations with state and public organizations; and extending the rights of the union republic communist parties will also be needed.

Essentially, a new statute is needed reflecting the spirit of our revolutionary times, stimulating the restructuring of the party, and ensuring reliable guarantees of democracy within the party.

Those are some of the ideas I would like to tell you about on this question. In conclusion, comrades, I would like to express confidence that preparations for the next party congress will provide good impetus to the activity of party organizations in resolving vital problems of the life of society. In the near future we must ensure a turn for the better, especially in things concerning the material conditions of people's life. On this question there are decisions by the congress, the Supreme Soviet, and the Government. But in the opinion of the Politburo they are being implemented sluggishly, without due urgency and responsibility. This applies to the central, republic, and local bodies—our leading cadres.

I hardly think we will adopt the stance of waiting for the congress to tackle these urgent problems. No, we must act now, immediately. We must act decisively. First of all, we must correct the trouble with the supplies of prime necessities, eliminate the shortages, and put trade in order. When I speak of shortages, you realize this means primarily those shopping items that are part of a person's everyday life, that affect his everyday life.

In conclusion, I would like to draw your attention to the following: There is not much time left until the congress; and from every point of view it is an exceptionally busy time. Alongside the implementation of the practical tasks I have just mentioned, ahead lie elections to the republican and local bodies of power—which will be a serious test for party organizations—and other major events connected with the development of economic and political reform.

Communists will face a heavy volume of work in connection with the implementation of the new nationalities policy, which will be dealt with in the debate on the second point on the agenda of this plenum. As for specific schedules for holding report back and election meetings, party conferences, congresses of communist parties of republics, and also regarding the norms of representation at the congress, the procedure for elections, and all other organizational questions connected with the convening of the next party congress, the drafting of proposals on these questions could be entrusted to the Politburo and then the Politburo's proposals could be examined at one of the regular plenums of the Central Committee— in the near future, of course.

Comrades, this is the scale of our work in the precongress period, if we are to speak of it most briefly. And in conclusion, if your attitude is positive, we must adopt a decision on this question.

Plenum Adopts Decision on Party Congress

LD1909071989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] The latest CPSU Central Committee Plenum started work in the Kremlin today. Issues concerning the convening of the next, 28th, Party Congress and concerning the party's nationalities policy in contemporary conditions have been put forward for consideration at the plenum. Comrade Gorbachev delivered a report on the first issue.

The plenum adopted a decision envisaging convening the 28th Party Congress is the second half of October next year. The agenda for the congress was also adopted.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is now speaking at the plenum, presenting a report on the party's nationalities policy in contemporary conditions.

Plenum Passes 28th Congress Agenda

LD1909101889 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, at its plenary meeting that opened here today, decided to convene the next (28th) congress of the Soviet Communist Party in October 1990.

The plenary meeting approved the following agenda of the congress:

1. Progress of perestroyka and the tasks of the party. Report by the Party Central Committee.
2. Report by the Party's Central Auditing Commission.
3. On party rules.
4. Election of the Party's central bodies.

The plenum instructed the Politburo to come up with proposals on the date and procedure of conducting a pre-congress review-and-election campaign, on the norm of representation and on the procedure of electing delegates to the congress, and to submit them for consideration to a Central Committee plenum.

Discussion of Plenum Report Begins

LD1909094589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] A regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee began work in the Kremlin today. The issues of the convocation of the regular 28th party congress and of the party's nationality policy under contemporary conditions were submitted for examination by the plenum.

Comrade Gorbachev delivered a report on the first issue. The plenum resolved to convene the regular 28th party congress next October. The congress agenda was adopted.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev delivered a report on the party's nationalities policy under contemporary conditions. After a break, the participants in the plenum began a discussion on this report. Khabibullin, first secretary of the Bashkir Oblast party committee; Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party; and Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, spoke. The discussion on the report continues.

Plenum Continues Work

LD1909171989 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 19 Sep 89

["Plenum Communique, Meeting To Continue Tomorrow"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee began its regular plenary meeting here today. The following items have been submitted for discussion:

1. The convocation of the 28th party congress.
2. The party's nationality policy in present-day conditions.

On the first item, the plenum heard Mikhail Gorbachev's report and adopted a corresponding resolution, both to be published in the press.

On the second issue, the plenum heard Gorbachev's report.

The plenum's participants received materials summarising the proposals and suggestions that were submitted in the course of the discussion of the party's [words indistinct], Communists, state and non-governmental organisations and scientists dealing with inter-ethnic issues, a review of people's letters, and several reference materials.

The plenum formed an editorial commission to edit the draft platform "The Party's Nationality Policy in Present-Day Conditions" and draft the plenum's resolution on the question discussed.

The plenum will continue its work on September 20.

Kazakhstan Leader Supports CPSU Plenum Platform

LD1809213589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Interview with Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, by unidentified correspondent; date, place not specified; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Well, you are getting ready to go to Moscow to attend the CPSU Central Committee plenum which will examine very acute problems in interethnic relations. In this respect, what constructive things can you say about your opinion regarding the further development of interethnic problems?

[Nazarbayev] The Central Committee of our party has done a great deal of groundwork in preparing for this plenum, both in the center and on the spot. The response from and expectations of the population of the country and of our republic are at present very great. That is, recently the platform of the CPSU on a nationality policy was published. I think this is a very serious document providing the basis on which to discuss all the problems that have arisen at the present time in interethnic relations. the Central Committee Bureau is of this opinion, and at the plenum of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee we said that first and foremost we must support this platform. This is one element which we will take to the congress.

The next element—I would like to stress it once again—is naturally that the question of the republic's sovereignty and economic independence must be resolved. That is, the republic should be granted independence in foreign trade. There can be no argument about this. But we firmly adhere to the stand that this independence should develop within the framework of our federation, as a means of strengthening our federation.

The whole world is moving toward integration. In his time Vladimir Ilich Lenin said that there is nothing stronger than economic ties. Surely it cannot be that during restructuring, instead of consolidating efforts to resolve all acute problems, we have become divorced on national subjects and have introduced some kind of separatist elements. I think that all the healthy forces in our country, in our party, should struggle for the unity of the Soviet Union. We think that laws should be drawn up which have a feeling of the integrity of our state, determining the principles of the nationality policy. We in the republic believe the basis, the basic elements of the law should be worked out in the union, and the leading place of the main principles of the country's law should be retained.

We think that with today's shortages of all resources, industrial goods, foodstuffs and so forth, and material and technical resources in general, the coordinating role of the Soviet Union's government should also be preserved. Otherwise, we may fall into chaos, when we give all the republics complete independence, let us say, in their politics, in laws, and in everything else. Then the time will come when we start to make claims on one another. That is, I shall not let you have wheat at that price, and the other party will not let me have clothes at a certain price. Where would we end up? We would end up in a state of global chaos. Therefore we favor the strengthening our federation, the strengthening of the Soviet socialist republics with economic independence and complete sovereignty within the framework of the Soviet state.

Groups Demand End to Communist Political Monopoly

AU1809190589 Paris AFP in English 1843 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, Sept 18 (AFP)—Pro-democracy movements meeting in Leningrad Monday adopted a resolution calling for an end to the Communist Party's role as sole legal political party in the Soviet Union, a press spokesman at the meeting said.

The spokesman, contacted by telephone, said the resolution adopted by about 100 non-official movements demanded the removal of Article 6 in the Soviet Constitution, which enshrines the Communist Party's "leading role".

Prominent advocates of reform in the Soviet Union, including human rights campaigner Andrei Sakharov, want Article 6 to be abolished.

The resolution also specifically called for political pluralism, a system of parliamentary democracy and the restoration of private property.

The spokesman said the conference was divided over another resolution on ethnic issues, which was still under debate late Monday. The Soviet Union's policy-making Central Committee is to hold a much-postponed plenum on the ethnic problems Tuesday.

Earlier Monday, the conference announced the formation of an Inter-regional Association of Democratic Movements (MADO) which will hold trimestrial "information" sessions to discuss the reform process.

The current conference, due to wind up later Monday, is attended by several dozen Popular Front pro-reform movements but also by smaller less-organised groups.

Preparations for Supreme Soviet Session Reported

LD1809204889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Rubtsov, chief of the Secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Maslennikov, chief of the press center, and other officials have informed journalists about the forthcoming work of the session. Questions are being put forward for examination such as plans for the development of the national economy, the budget, the use of land, taxation and a whole series of other issues, including those which could not be dealt with at the preceding session. The main workload will rest with the relevant committees and commissions. They have already begun their meetings.

Reportage on Armenia-Azerbaijan Situation

Two Militiamen Killed in Azerbaijan

LD1909141789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—As was reported today in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, two militiamen died on 18 September in Agdamskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan, near the village of Giyasly.

A military detachment had arrived to restore order to the village, which is situated on the blocked Stepanakert-Agdam route, and were surrounded by a group of 200 people. In response to the threatening behavior of the crowd, and in order to halt an attack, the detachment used their weapons—two people were wounded in the legs.

Half an hour later an operational-investigative militia group arrived from Stepanakert in order to elucidate the circumstances of the incident. The group confiscated material evidence, specifically a thunderflash and a bottle containing inflammable mixture, and also photographed the scene of the incident.

As the militiamen were getting into their car, a crowd of 200-300 people closed around them. The most active participants in the incident demanded that the film be exposed, but were refused. The patrol car was then overturned and the assault on the militiamen commenced. As a result, two of them received injuries, while two others were seriously wounded by knives. One died on the way to the hospital. Doctors failed to save the life of the second militiaman.

Weapons were seized from three militiamen during the clash. An investigation is being mounted.

NKAO Remains Under Blockade

NC1909102989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] remains under blockade. Nearly 1,000 railroad cars loaded with manufactured goods, building materials, food, and fuel destined for the NKAO are stranded along railroad tracks in the republic, so no freight has entered Stepanakert for several days. Operations of the manufacturing, transportation, and agricultural sectors have become complicated. [Words indistinct] shortage of feed in some shops [words indistinct] and the construction sites are being gradually deserted. The picture of Artsakh [NKAO] is still incomplete.

In these difficult days, the NKAO Special Administration Committee, the NKAO National Council, and the party and economic bodies are wholly directed toward reducing tension in the region and maintaining the economic survivability of the cities and villages of the mountainous land. Last Sunday [17 September] Army helicopters brought nearly 50 tonnes of flour into the oblast.

Automobile convoys accompanied by sub-units of the Soviet Armed Forces have started using NKAO roads. Unfortunately, it is impossible to prevent all of the crimes committed by irresponsible people that exacerbate an already explosive situation, but the population is exhibiting an enviable firmness and composure and in general is not succumbing to possible provocations.

The Karabakh people, who followed the proceedings of the latest session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, are extremely indignant about most of speakers' irresponsible statements—statements offensive to the Armenian people, their ideology, and their aspirations. These statements, [words indistinct] also attacked the NKAO Special Administration Committee and Chairman Volskiy's activities.

The use of force to achieve objectives is condemned to failure. The NKAO problem should be solved solely through mutual understanding and mutual constitutional concessions. The times demand this.

Newsprint Stocks 'Exhausted'

PM1809195989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent A. Sarkisyan et al under the rubric "A Matter of Urgency": "Glasnost Under Siege"]

[Text] It is possible that this alarming report will not be read in Armenia. Judging by all indicators, as of 21 September all central and republic newspapers will cease to publish—the last reserves of newsprint are exhausted. This unprecedented situation for the Soviet press has been caused by the protracted blockade of the highways and railroad lines from Azerbaijan. Construction work in the disaster zone is at a standstill, supplies of food and fuel are running out... The republic has been deprived of the opportunity to dispatch industrial and agricultural products to the country's consumers.

The press organs are doomed to silence. And this is happening during the work of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations, on the threshold of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. We would also add that the nonpublication of newspapers in Armenia has coincided with the peak of the subscription campaign.

Those who are lowering the barrier blocking access to Armenia are thereby exacerbating still further the already tense situation in the region, and are undermining the working people's trust in the organs of power. How can we talk about a dialogue between the two sides if one of them is deprived of the printed word? Compromise cannot be sought in the impasses of a blockade, under pressure of force.

The numerous daily appeals these days to the correspondent offices of the central papers are alarming: People are demanding immediate and emergency measures to lift the blockade.

We, the correspondents of the central newspapers, Central Television, and All-Union Radio, consider it our professional duty to raise our voice in defense of glasnost under siege.

A. Sarkisyan—PRAVDA
S. Bablumyan—IZVESTIYA
N. Ordinyan—SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA
I. Verdiyan—SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
V. Aydinyan—STROITELNAYA GAZETA
G. Karapetyan—TRUD
V. Aloyan—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
V. Nazaryan—Central Television
K. Khumaryan—All-Union Radio

Azeris Announce Easing of Blockade

AU1909101989 Paris AFP in English 0951 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP)—Militant nationalists in Azerbaijan announced Tuesday the partial lifting of a road and rail blockade which has cut off supplies of essential goods to neighbouring Armenia.

A spokeswoman for the Azerbaijan Popular Front mass movement, said "transport of food, medicine and building materials, but not of petrol which is a national product of Azerbaijan, resumed Monday on one of two arteries leading to Armenia."

The blockade imposed for the past week as part of a bitter territorial dispute, was eased on the railway through the Azerbaijani autonomous republic of Nakhichevan but negotiations were still in progress with militants holding up road convoys further north, the Front spokeswoman said.

Interviewed by phone from Moscow, Leila Younoussova said there was no plan to lift the blockade on Nagorno-Karabakh, a mainly-Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan, which wants to be reunited with Armenia.

Nearly 85 per cent of supplies imported by Armenia are shipped through Azerbaijan, an Armenian official said in Yerevan last week. He said the blockade had brought to a standstill reconstruction work in areas razed by the major earthquake of last December.

Vazgen Manoukian, a member of the Armenian Karabakh Committee fighting to recover the disputed enclave, said Yerevan airport would be forced to begin cancelling flights on Wednesday if the blockade continued.

Azerbaijan Worker Groups Help Militia Enforce Laws

NC1809142189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Worker groups have been set up in the republic to help the militia units enforce the laws in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The groups are made up of more than 50 volunteers each.

One of the groups has been assigned to assist the 26 Baku Commissars Rayon Internal Affairs Departament in hard labor. The groups meet regularly with the leading officials of the republic's law enforcement organs to improve the volunteers' training in legal matters.

The volunteers and members of the rayon's militia (?headquarters) have met with Orudzhev, Azerbaijan SSR minister of justice.

Arutyunyan Speaks at Armenian Supreme Soviet

NC1709120089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] As you already know from our broadcasts, the 10th extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia began its deliberations this morning at the hall of the congress of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Here is more of our special coverage.

Samson Tonoyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia, chaired the meeting. He called on Valeri Badamyants, chairman of the republic's committee for state security; Usik Arutyunyan, minister of internal affairs; and major general [name indistinct] to address the meeting. Deputies Ashot Manucharyan, Khachik Stamboltsyan, Suren Avedisyan, [first name indistinct] Mirzoyan, USSR People's Deputies Garen Simonyan, Sero Khanzatyan, and others made suggestions and criticisms concerning the [word indistinct].

After the recess, the meeting was chaired by the deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet (Gendrich Ovsepyan).

The meeting heard the report of Grigor Asatryan, chairman of the credentials committee, who discussed the results of the by-elections for the Armenian Supreme Soviet held on 27 August 1989. The session endorsed the election of new Deputies Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Robert Kocharyan, Rafael Ghazarayn, and Yuriy Chshmarityan. The decision of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet concerning the invalidation of the mandate for Arkadi Manusharov to serve as deputy was submitted for discussion. Armen Asrafyan, minister of justice, and Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, spoke on the issue. Deputies Khachik Stamboltsyan and Grachik Simonyan; (Grigor Atanasyan), the representative of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]; [words indistinct]; republic Procurator Vladimir Nazartyan, and others spoke on the issue. They proposed recognition of the election of Arkadi Manusharov and an appeal to the USSR procurator general demanding his release. The session endorsed the proposal with a majority vote.

Next the deputies deliberated on establishing the agenda and procedures for the session. By a majority vote, the following topics were put on the agenda:

1. The security of the Armenian population in the Azerbaijan Republic, NKAO, and in the (?border) regions of the Armenian republic and suggestions on the issue proposed to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

2. Measures concerning the stabilization of the sharply exacerbated situation in the region and the lifting of the blockade of Armenia and NKAO.

3. A report from the Soviet Armenian Council of Ministers concerning its activities and plans for extricating the area from its perilous situation.

4. Matters pertaining to the implementation of the decisions adopted by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet Armenian Council of Ministers concerning resettling the refugees and additional measures to improve the work in this area.

A number of suggestions were made. the constitutional committee was asked to discuss them, prepare draft decisions, and submit them to the next session for approval. The procedures for the session was then approved.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech on the first two points on the agenda.

[Begin Arutyunyan recording] Esteemed deputies, comrades, and dear compatriots. The grave situation which has developed in the republic and in the entire region in recent months has become even more complex. Our people are probably living through the most dramatic and difficult moments in their history. The physical pain and enormous spiritual sorrow has altered the normal course of life for each Armenian and has [word indistinct] our normal life. The unrelenting restlessness has now been transformed into a serious dread. The tension between Armenia and Azerbaijan has reached its climax. The (?estrangement) between the two peoples has evolved into a confrontation which is almost interethnic war. Millions of people are involved in the conflict. The third wave of attacks [word indistinct] from Azerbaijan has again agitated the people in the republic. [word indistinct] new occasions for tension, intensification of the prevailing situation, interethnic enmity, and confrontation. Something that cannot be rectified could happen at any moment. The perilous situation must be overcome with urgency.

Under these conditions one must find an answer to the following question: Which is the way out, and which course we should choose? We had and have a principled posture regarding the solution of all problems perturbing our people. We search and will search for reasonable and resolute solutions to all the problems, above all for the just demand of the Armenian people to realize the reunification of Artsakh [NKAO] with motherland Armenia. We must also state openly that the confrontation, the irreconcilability of the positions, and the rejection of mutual concessions has created a situation which hampers the search for constructive methods. (?Even now) the main effort should be directed towards helping to create a situation that would enable the central government, in particular the USSR Supreme Soviet, to objectively evaluate the Artsakh problem and pass resolutions to mitigate the situation.

However, on the eve of the discussion of the NKAO problem by the country's highest bodies, the situation in Azerbaijan has recently heated up with new vigor. Developments are taking a threatening course. Acts are being committed which are unprecedentedly unethical and incompatible with our socialist society and legal order. Armenia and the NKAO have been subjected to a blockade by Azerbaijan. For the past 2 months, Armenia has not received any fuel or other consumables by way of the Azerbaijan railways. The stocks of basic commodities are being depleted. The construction and restoration work has virtually terminated in the disaster zone. The fulfillment of orders from enterprises is on the verge of total (?collapse). In view of this situation it is hard to find an explanation for the following question: How it is possible for the situation to become so ignobly exacerbated and to quickly come close to being the most dangerous thing in a unitary and [words indistinct] state and under the [word indistinct] Constitution, which is often quoted by the Azerbaijani (?comrades)?

What are the objectives of those who have organized the blockade? Are they to terrorize our people, to disseminate discontent, to educate [word indistinct] extremists? The Armenian people (?raise) a just and resolute protest against the blockade and cruel pressure whose sole aim is to transfer the NKAO problem to Baku.

The Armenian people and the republic leadership have [word indistinct] to undertake urgent extraordinary measures regarding transportation, in particular regarding the railways, to establish law and order and [word indistinct] to revive Armenia's transportation. The present situation (?requires) the declaration of a (?special) military situation [(?hatuk) razmakan drutyun] along the Azerbaijan railways to ensure transportation of freight [words indistinct] to Armenia. [passage indistinct on the need for freight transportation]

The union bureaucracy in its turn must institute criminal proceedings against [words indistinct] those blocking the roads and their instigators. [passage indistinct]

Comrades, there will be a plenum of the party's Central Committee on interethnic issues. We will go to the plenum with a specific plan [word indistinct] formulated through consultations with [word indistinct], representatives of the public and lawyers and based on the suggestions published in the mass media. [word indistinct] this will also form the foundation for our position at the next USSR Supreme Soviet session. [passage indistinct]

The Armenian population sees the just solution of the NKAO problem [word indistinct] in its reunification with Armenia. [passage indistinct] However, we realize [passage indistinct]. The priority issue is the reinstatement of the [word indistinct] council of the people's deputies and its executive committtee [word indistinct] and their placement under the central authorities and union jurisdiction. The [word indistinct] of the party city committee should also be restored. [passage indistinct] The NKAO national council's objective is to assist in stabilizing the situation and reinstating the oblast Soviet authorities. [passage indistinct]

Today we are seriously concerned with the situation of the Armenians in Azerbaijan, in particular of those in Baku. We have asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to take urgent measures to ensure our compatriots' security. This question was raised during the recent visit of General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and the officers accompanying him. [passage indistinct] We present the draft appeal for debate.

Comrades, no matter how grave the social and political situation in the republic is [words indistinct] we cannot achieve anything without extricating the economy from the deep [word indistinct]. We must not only restore the collapsed economy but must also solve the issue of republic's revival. [passage indistinct] We must make haste in creating the needed preconditions for introducing free enterprise policy. We have already inquired about the relevant union bodies concerning the [words indistinct] in the republic, the establishment of an international Armenian bank, an international telephone center, and accrediting our own representatives in specific foreign countries, the building of a business center and solving cadre preparation, improving transportation, and other issues. [word indistinct] the existing extraordinary situation demands unity [word indistinct]. This could be achieved by the efforts of all; by the joint efforts of the governing bodies, intellectuals, public and non-official organizations, and movements. To extricate a destroyed economy from a grave situation is difficult even under ordinary conditions. [words indistinct] this could be achieved by unifying our forces around the idea of our national renaissance and [words indistinct]. We must realize that we face a serious choice: either a national renaissance must occur, or we will come to a moral precipice in addition to enduring physical destruction. Salvation rests only in unity and national [word indistinct]. We must unite on our national hearth [words indistinct]. We need cooperation and unity. Today our people are experiencing a situation which does not allow for the slacking of their powers. We could carry the weight pressing on our shouiders only in national unity. [passage indistinct] Today constructive dialogue is very essential. However, the process of democratization should in no way loosen the foundations of unity among our people. The existence of a dozen nonofficial organizations, which are frequently at loggerheads with each other, the unnecessary sharpening of relations, and attempts to estrange the people from the authorities can bring nothing to us today. The demand of the times is the national unity [words indistinct]. Our people have survived their historical experiences thanks to their spiritual valor and firmness and [words indistinct]. We must take refugee in these qualities again today. [end recording]

Views were exchanged after the speech. The following people spoke: Zori Balayan, USSR people's deputy; Grigor [name indistinct], deputy at the Armenian Supreme Soviet; Aleksander Petrosyan, representative of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian Railway, and Major General Mikael [name indistinct].

Supreme Soviet Session Break Announced

PM1809141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

["Own Information" report: "Intermission Announced"]

[Text] As has already been reported, an extraordinary session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet opened in Yerevan 16 September. It has examined questions of the situation which has taken shape in the region.

An intermission has been announced in the work of the session. It will continue work after the completion of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations.

Stepanakert Enterprise Work Resumption Described

PM1909103789 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
29 Aug 89 p 2

[ARMENPRESS own correspondent A. Grigoryan report: "Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast: Strike Suspended"]

[Text] Stepanakert—Stepanakert's enterprises and organizations have once again come to life. Collectives at the electrical equipment plant, the footwear, sewn goods, and furniture factories, the silk and production combines, the condenser and agricultural machinery plant, the construction materials combine, and other important material production facilities in the city set to work on Monday morning.

Thus, the strike that lasted for approximately 4 months has been suspended in the oblast center. People responded to the appeal from the national council to resume work and endeavor to secure satisfaction of their demands at the negotiating table. This call was once again voiced unequivocally at the latest rally held by Stepanakert's residents last Friday [25 August]. The speakers noted, inter alia, that the the people of Artsakh [ancient name for Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] must set the force of their will against the daily increasing economic, political, and moral pressure against the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from Azerbaijan, work with redoubled energy, and erect more apartment blocks, schools, kindergartens, and highways. The speakers stressed that the enemies of the just Karabakh movement are capable of all manner of provocation. That is why it is necessary for everyone to retain their calm, self-possession, and self-discipline and not respond to evil in kind.

Unfortunately, the warnings issued by the rally's participants are justified. During the night of 27-28 August a bus carrying passengers from Yerevan to Stepanakert was stoned once again near the city of Barda, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. This was happened at a time when the vehicle was escorted by staffers from the republic's state automobile inspection service. When will there be an end to these and other excesses? For innocent people are suffering. Who will be punished for all this?

Azerbaijan Claims NKAO Benefits From Rule

NC1809184889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has adopted the following decision on the situation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]:

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has debated the report on the situation in the NKAO and stated that it feels very uneasy about the situation in that region of the republic. Strikes, unauthorized meetings, and other activities aimed at wresting the NKAO from Azerbaijan have continued without interruption during the past (?6) months. There have been casualties, and the number of refugees is increasing. The main values, such as friendship between the peoples and internationalism, are in complete disorder, and law and order, social justice, and human rights have been badly affected. All this may produce unexpected results.

The interethnic discord in the NKAO has significantly disrupted relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian people. The refugee problem, which is not an ordinary problem for the Soviet state, is one of the most serious results of interethnic discord. A total of 160,000 Azerbaijanis have been forced to leave their places of permanent residence in the Armenian SSR and [words indistinct] has caused an exodus of Armenians from Azerbaijan SSR.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet notes that the creation of the NKAO within the framework of the Azerbaijan SSR with the consent of all the people in the region in 1922 evidences the good will of the Azerbaijani people. The objective was to provide for cooperation and friendship between the peoples of the two neighboring republics. The NKAO achieved significant success in its development by benefiting from the Azerbaijan SSR's wide-ranging economic potential and by broadening its historic economic and cultural relations with the other regions. However, the instigation of a nationalist policy in the country in the past had negative effects on the development of the autonomous regions, including the NKAO. Both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani peoples of the autonomous oblast and the republic in general suffered from this situation.

The reconstruction course, which was implemented through the CPSU's initiative for the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society, has created favorable opportunities for the settlement of accumulated problems. However, the effort made by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Government, and the measures effected by the leaders and people of the Azerbaijan SSR, have consistently been confronted with open resistance by the nationalist and extremist forces, which are always opposed to reconstruction.

The implementation of the special administration system in the NKAO has not improved the situation. It has added to the tension and deepened and worsened interethnic confrontation.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet adopts the following decision:

That the special administration committee in the NKAO be abolished and a (?petition) be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for the adoption of a relevant decision on the matter.

By adopting this decision, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has made an effort to normalize the situation in the region and to establish national peace as quickly as possible. It has resolutely rejected every attempt at interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign republic. The Azerbaijan SSR has all the necessary capabilities to provide for the political, economic, social, and cultural development of both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani peoples in the NKAO.

The republic's Supreme Soviet categorically proclaims that the Azerbaijani people are eager to live with the Armenian people in conditions of peace and good-neighborly relations, and calls for a cautious approach to urgent problems and for the avoidance of reciprocal allegations and accusations. This is demanded by the responsibility we have for the future of our peoples and for the destiny of each and every individual and each and every family.

Let there be peace and security everywhere.

[Signed] Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Refiga Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Baku, 15 September 1989.

Vezirov Firm on NKAO Administration

LD1809134989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Azeri 6 Sep 89 p 1

[" 'Let Us Not Allow Passions To Boil Up,' answers by the first secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, A.Kh. Vezirov, to the questions by a correspondent of AZERINFORM"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] [Question] "Comrade Vezirov, the situation in the republic has become complicated and assumed a serious character. Meetings and strikes are disrupting the work of enterprises and transportation."

[Answer] "Unfortunately, this is so. The republic is suffering great material and moral losses. Economic relations with many regions of the republic are being disrupted.

"While talking to workers, we realize that the main cause of strikes is uneasiness arising from the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region [NKAO] and the deterioration which has come about recently in the situation of the Azerbaijani population living there.

"We can say that at some stages measures taken to normalize the situation in the NKAO were tough. But the situation; many of these measures are not yielding any results and at present are not helping to solve the problem.

"As far as we ar concerned, the territorial dependence of Nagorno-Karabakh has never been a problem. It has been and remains our soil, our sovereign republic's soil and will remain so. And this means rejecting making the oblast a property of others in any way.

"Unfortunately, hopes pinned on the Special Administration Committee were not justified. There are many reasons for this, including active resistance by extremist forces who hamper work to stabilize the situation. The committee is using insufficiently the authority granted to it by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There is no consistency in its activity. We believe that the special administration should have been implemented not only at the oblast level, but also at the rayon level. "Krunk" workers and extremists took advantage of the situation in which local ruling bodies avoided changes. Outside interference in the affairs of the NKAO have not been stopped. None of those who were guilty of inciting interethnic hostility have been charged by the party or criminal courts. All this has had the most negative affect on the situation of the population of both nationalities of the oblast. The situation requires efficient measures, and meausres are being taken.

"The aid to Nagorno-Karabakh has been supported sincerely; and supporting towns and rayons have been established. Measures have been taken to maintain the safety of the population."

[Question] "What was the reason for the meeting of the Bureaus of the Communist Party's of Azerbaijan and Armenia in Moscow on 31 August.

[Answer] "This meeting was held at the initiative of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee in connection with exacerbation of relations between nationalities. We have come to a dangerous situation. People have been killed. Blood is being shed. We have to stop the dangerous development of events. And for this purpose we must do whatever we can. Relations between our peoples have been badly damaged. These relations can be normalized only by cooperation of the party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement bodies and scientific and cultural establishments of both republics and by their joint efforts.

"From this point of view the meeting has principle importance for manifesting the determination to progres by eliminating both the objective and subjective causes of interethnic hostility. The meeting was also important because the most important national problems have to be solved by joint activity. You cannot clap with one hand.

"Our people have wonderful traditions: When a misfortune takes place hard feelings must be replaced by mutual understanding. We went to the meeting solely with this aim.

"We profoundly understand that there are no prospects in nationalities standing against each other in any way, comprehensively clarifying who is right and who is wrong, bringing charges against each other, or especially making claims. The past 20 months showed that no important question is solved in this way. Here, I would especially point out that it is extremely necessary not to interfere in the internal affairs of any union republic and to respect its sovereign rights.

"I would like to say openly that this is a difficult meeting. We openly explained our principled position on questions of improving relations between our peoples. Right from the beginning, the members of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee attempted to run the NKAO problem into the main question.

"My appearance on republican television of 29 August also created discontent. They especially did not like my statement that we would resolutely respond without hesitation to those who call for changing the boundaries.

"I want to say that we have reached agreement on a number of practical questions, above all on the problem of immigrants. The inter-republics commission is instructed to pay compensation for the losses of immigrants and to solve all problems like giving one-time assistance.

"Questions concerning maintaining safety of movement in the NKAO as well as on roads to Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] were discussed. It was decided to set up joint commissions in all rayons along the borders. Questions of working with intellectuals, young people, and the mass media were comprehensively agreed upon."

[Question] "Recently you mentioned the importance of further strengthening the sovereignty of our republic..."

[Answer] "We intend to strengthen the national and state sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR in the most resolute way. People are the main masters of the soil and all its wealth. Only people have the right to solve all questions concerning their destiny, including the questions of territory.

"Regarding maintaining the sovereignty of Azerbaijan and protecting the honor and dignity of our people, nobody must have any doubt about our firmness and determination.

"If we want to see mother Azerbaijan as a sovereign republic, we must maintain its social and economic progress and a higher standard of living for the population. To put it briefly, everything must be done so that the republic, in union with other members of the Soviet federation, becomes an economically powerful republic with equal rights.

"The special commission of the Council of Ministers of this republic is preparing a law on economic independence of the Azerbaijan SSR. There are distinguished scholars, experts, leaders of ministries and departments of the republic in the commission. The preparation of this concept is finished and now draft specific normative acts and proposals on all parts of the program covering everything from self-management to self-financing are being prepared. The draft program will be presented for broad public discussion. All proposals connected with the law will be received with gratitude and attention."

[Question] "The subject of the meetings held in Baku was not only Karabakh...."

[Answer] "It is a clear question. But one cannot forget that all these scourges did not come about yesterday or the day before. They have been built up over many years.

"I have said that we started solving socioeconomic questions under these circumstances. The Communist Party Central Committee and the government have a realistic, creative program which arises from people's need. It is clear to all that the changes to and fulfillment of revival plans and especially the solution of the problem of the NKAO require time, restraint, and above all the unity of the people. Any attempt to weaken this unity will disrupt our efforts and will negatively effect people's welfare and the republic.

"We have said many times that we are prepared to carry out a dialogue with all public organizations and movements and to cooperate with all of those who come out for restructuring and those who sincerely wish to take part in solving the practical problems of developing the republic.

"It must be pointed out that many comprehensive, long talks were held with representatives of unofficial organizations, including talks and discussions with initiators of the People's Front, which went on for hours.

"Of course, in these movements there are reliable forces and sincere people who are really concerned about the people. This is why we favor a dialogue.

"Unfortunately, the contents of these talks have been interpreted at meetings in a distorted form. Attempts are being made to attribute to us things which we have not said. For example, at one of the meetings it was said that the leadership of the republic had allegedly agreed with the implementation of presidential administration in NKAO. This is a blatant lie! This cannot be regarded as anything but an attempt to sow seeds of distrust of the leadership of the republic. Generally, such a form of administration is not considered in the USSR Constitution. I would like to tell those who think that in this way NKAO will be completely controlled by the center that the leadership of Azerbaijan is resolutely against any step to separate NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR. We have stated this position at all levels.

"Now we must not talk about views, relations, and values, peculiar to various strata among the population, standing against each other but about searching and finding aspects which can unite them. We are prepared to cooperate with reliable forces who are coming out for restructuring. But we are against ulitimatums. We are against pressure and authoritarianism.

"Do lawless and illegal actions, after all, express the people's own will? Are hooligan's excesses their threats of those who work conscientiously, and insulting other people an expression of the will of the people?

"Insane people are trying to cut economic relations with other regions and do not understand that we not only send goods, we also import goods. And we import large amounts of goods. Disruption of these relations could create chaos in the republic. Is this the way to economic independence and progress?

"It is characteristic that representatives of people's fronts of the Baltic republics were among those who called for a strike in Baku. After all, it is obvious that these fronts adopt resolutions demanding inclusion of NKAO in Armenia.

"History has always shown that only by dividing the people has an effective blow been struck against their present and future. We call on everybody for understanding and responsibility."

110 Russian Factories in Moldavia on Strike

LD1809174289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Kishinev, 18 Sep (TASS)—In Soviet Moldavia some 110 enterprises in Tiraspol and Bendery are continuing to strike, a TASS correspondent was told at the united republican strike committee.

The strikers consider that the laws on languages recently adopted by the Moldavian Supreme Soviet infringe the rights of the Russian-speaking population of the republic and contravene the USSR Constitution.

"Today," Petr Denisenko, cochairman of the committee, said, "in these and a number of other towns of the republic work was stopped for 2 hours also by dozens of enterprises which had previously ended the strike or which did not take part in them at all because they ensure the life activity of the towns and the processing of the harvest."

By this action the republican strike committee has expressed disagreement with the central press and television coverage of the sociopolitical situation in the republic. The strikers have called for "objective reflection of the situation" and for providing people with full information on the nature of the events taking place here.

Representatives of the strikers admit that the strikes are doing tremendous damage to the national economy and to themselves and their families. But they do not intend to end the strike until their demands are satisfied.

Moldavian Draft Electoral Law Provokes Debate

PM1809152989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Eduard Kondratov dispatch under the rubric "Direct Line": "Amendments to the Constitution Proposed"]

[Text] Kishinev—On Sunday, the republic's newspapers published the draft law "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR)." The proposed amendments are not simply editorial amendments or designed to clarify or supplement—they also introduce fundamentally new features to a number of articles in the Moldavian SSR Constitution. For example, they introduce new clauses on the soviets' possessing full authority throughout the territory under their jurisdiction, on restrictions on the holding of office (not more than two terms) by people elected or appointed by soviets, and on making soviets responsible for the state of the environment. One can assume that very heated discussions will be prompted by the totally new wording of the section "The Electoral System." The draft law proposes that the inhabitants of Moldavia allocate one-fourth of all deputy seats (75 out of 300) on the republic's Supreme Soviet to representatives of social organizations, who will be elected at conferences and congresses. The remaining three-fourths of the seats will be given to deputies from territorial electoral districts. The same proportions are envisioned in the election of deputies to local soviets.

Under the draft law, the number of candidates per deputy seat is unlimited.

And, finally, one more detail which deserves attention: In the event that USSR legislation or any other USSR act infringes on the sovereign rights of the Moldavian SSR, the republic's Supreme Soviet is empowered to register a protest with the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. Until the disputed issue in question is resolved by this higher authority, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers has the right to suspend acts of USSR ministries and departments on the republic's territory that conflict with the republic's own interests.

Discussion of the draft law on amendments and additions to the Moldavian SSR Constitution began on the day of its publication. One question that is the subject of heated discussion is the advisability of creating two chambers in the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, one of which would guarantee equal rights for all peoples and ethnic groups living in the republic. There is no such article in the draft law proposed for discussion.

Moldavian Language Debate Viewed

18001615 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 37, 13 Sep 89 p 3

[Statements by Ion Khadyrke, USSR people's deputy, ispolkom chairman, Moldavian People's Front; Petr Skripnichenko, chief mechanic, Tiraspol S.M. Kirov Plant, co-chairman, republic strike committee; Yerkin Auelbekov, commission chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet, compiled by G. Malarchuk: "Moldavia: Opposition to No One's Advantage"]

[Text] **In Moldavia, no compromise has yet been found between the opposing sides; the republic's Supreme Soviet session has ended, but the strikes continue.**

Here is what representatives of public movements and the deputy parliamentary commission think about the "Moldavian language dispute."

Ion Khadyrke, USSR people's deputy, ispolkom [executive committee] chairman, Moldavian People's Front:

"The republic's Supreme Soviet has finally proclaimed Moldavian to be the state language, operating on the basis of Latin characters. This eliminates one of the deepest historical injustices, which goes far back to 1812. It would seem that here we could rejoice together. Instead of this, at the strikers' request, a USSR Supreme Soviet Commission arrived. It's incredible! To strike against a language, and against characters!

"But this is hardly all. I quote from the statement of the workers' union of Moldavia, and the republic strike committee: "To form an interim revolutionary committee [VRK] on the basis of party committees which subscribe to the CPSU Central Committee positions, which will take upon itself the entirety of the republic's legislative and executive power. Is this not an appeal to seize power?

"Another one of the demands of the republic strike committee: 'To abolish the nationality column in the passport and write: Citizen of the USSR.' What is this, a new nationality? Or a screen, under whose cover further assimilation and erasure of superfluous facets will be carried out?

"We (and here, first and foremost, I have in mind the program of the Moldavian People's Front) are for a federal union of equal states, for the sovereignty of every people."

Petr Skripnichenko, chief mechanic, Tiraspol S.M. Kirov Plant co-chairman, republic strike committee:

"I want everyone to understand that the strike is not against a language, but against the forced imposition of a language. The Moldavian language does not function in the production sphere. It is necessary that business correspondence be carried out in the state language, but with parallel translation into Russian. Everyone acknowledges that there is no Moldavian technical language. This is very bad. We must create such a language all together, but not impose it on one another by force. We speak not only of Tiraspol, but of all the striking collectives in the republic's 15 cities and rayons. Yet even if we were speaking of a single person, all the same, his rights should not be infringed upon.

"A USSR Supreme Soviet Commission came to see us. We presented it with a package of demands and draft agreements. The commission members, together with republic leaders, met with workers, and appealed to them to halt the strike until the situation has been explained completely. The strike committee supported this appeal. However, the labor collectives amicably responded: As long as their demands are not met, the strike will not be halted.

"I hope that the commission came to study all sides of the conflict objectively, and to report to the country's leadership. Since we cannot reach agreement here, the USSR Supreme Soviet will make a decision which will satisfy everyone."

Yerkin Auelbekov, commission chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet:

"The USSR Supreme Soviet commission has completed the first phase of its work. Through all these days, we visited many workers' collectives in Kishinev, Tiraspol, Bendery, and other cities and rural rayons, met with USSR people's deputies, with representatives of the mass information media, the People's Front, the "Yedinstvo" intermovement, etc. We encountered only a fine attitude wherever we went. Nevertheless, the situation in the republic is complicated, although it is not hopeless. We managed to clear up a great deal, to draw the positions of the two sides closer, and to discover a path toward mutual understanding. Unfortunately, we could not halt the strikes, at least not within the time frame of our commission's work. The conflict has gone too far, but it cannot last forever. The striking collectives agree that the Moldavian language and Moldavian culture are in need of further development. But they want a guarantee that the same attitude will exist toward Russian and other languages. On the other hand, we did not meet a single Moldavian who was against the Russian language. We found no obvious cases of discrimination in the laws adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet. But all the same, an expert commission has been created in Moscow which will review the law once again, and render its competent conclusion.

"Many misunderstandings stem from the fact that certain people have not yet studied these laws sufficiently, and are allowing an unrestricted interpretation of these or those articles and statutes."

Belorussian Model for Economic Independence Viewed

LD1809162489 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

The striving for economic independence is now characteristic of many regions of the USSR. But many different ways of achieving independence are proposed.

One of the biggest union republics, Belorussia, has now made its contribution to developing these methods. According to its concept, endorsed by the USSR Council of Ministers last weekend, Belorussia is to considerably widen the area of its economic independence as of January 1, 1990.

At its first session, the USSR Supreme Soviet endorsed the proposals of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia for their transition to cost-accounting as of January 1, 1990. The preparation for this is being completed in the Baltic republics.

Both the Belorussian and the Baltic models are based on the expansion of economic independence. But while the Soviet Baltic Republics intend to switch their entire economies to new conditions of economic management at once, Belorussia chose the road of a gradual, stage-by-stage widening of its sovereignty in the economic area.

Some 50 per cent of Belorussia's industry will be supervised by the republic as of January 1. These are the agro-industrial and building complexes, the manufacture of consumer goods, the area of services, production infrastructure of republican significance, conservationist and other kinds of activity directly related to the life of the population.

Only seven per cent of enterprises on the territory of Belorussia are now subordinate to republican authorities. Belorussia's rights in the area of planning, in foreign economic and financial areas will be considerably expanded.

Belorussia thus intends to invigorate its economy and to speed up its social reorientation. But what is cardinal in its efforts is perhaps the striving to develop the ideas and try out the mechanism of cost-accounting in the republic not only in its relations with the federation, but also in relations with the republic's regions and districts.

Thus contours of two models of the Soviet republics' transition to economic independence have been outlined quite clearly. Experience will show which of the two models is the more effective. But they will probably not remain the only models for achieving economic independence. Concepts of economic independence are now being worked out in other republics, regions and cities. They included Moscow, Sverdlovsk in the Urals, Tataria, an autonomous republic of the Russian Federation.

Because of specific features of each region, these concepts might differ in some aspects. This is fully in keeping with the provision contained in the platform of the Soviet Communist Party "the nationalities policy of the party in contemporary conditions". It says that the choice of economic methods and forms of economic management is made by republics for their territories independently, proceeding from the actual degree to which production is socialised and the structure of productive forces.

Kiev Rally Protests 'Rukh' Congress Proceedings

PM1809165789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by Captain Third Rank M. Khondoshko, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA stringer: "Rally in Kiev"]

[Text] Kiev, 16 Sep—It was organized on Saturday [16 September] by representatives of labor collectives, the city's public, and Kiev Garrison soldiers. The rally was held under the slogan "Perestroyka's Success Lies in International Unity and Cohesion."

...Passions in Kiev were on the boil all through the week: There was hardly a labor or military collective, hardly a family which was not discussing the constituent congress of "Rukh," the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka, which was held the day before. This organization actually claims to be the sole spokesman and defender of the interests and aspirations of the republic's population. This was perhaps the first occasion that newspapers—central, republic, or local—seemed to disappear from the newsstands instantaneously. Kiev's residents were interested in the entire spectrum of opinions, from the RATAU commentary—dry in form but substantive and precise in its formulations—to the "rounded-off" material in VECHERNYY KIEV which seemed almost apologetic to "Rukh" members.

The majority of opinions, which differed according to people's age and social status, agreed on one point: That the voice of the main protagonist on whose behalf delegates tried to speak—the people—was not heard at the "Rukh" congress. It was heard Saturday at the citywide rally held at Kiev's republic stadium and attended by people in their thousands.

Neither the rather chilly morning weather nor the torrential rain which started falling deterred people who had rarely felt the desire to attend mass events in the past. The 50,000-60,000 rally participants listened attentively and responded keenly to every speech. I shall cite just a few excerpts which are typical of the speakers' stance.

V. OSTAPENKO, chairman of the Red Cossack Veterans Group:

"We saw for ourselves during the Civil War what Ukrainian nationalists bring to their people under the 'yellow-blue' flags—bloodshed, arson, plunder, anti-Jewish pogroms..."

A. ISHCHUK, construction administration installation team leader at the No 1 Housebuilding Combine:

"Some people find it advantageous to destabilize the economy and bring everything, including the construction industry, to a state of anarchy. Some people find it advantageous to have in our own republic a situation like the one in the Transcaucasus."

A. VEDMID, chairman of the "Zarya Kommunizma" Collective Farm in Kiev Oblast's Vasilkovskiy Rayon:

"Don't believe the "Rukh" organizers when they say that the people are with them! I believe that some people's deputies are channeling their efforts in the wrong direction. Regardless of nationality, all of us must focus our energy on improving work, on solving economic and social problems, and on the cohesion and accord of all people living in the USSR."

Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General B. Gromov, commander of the Kiev Military District and USSR people's deputy, spoke on behalf of the soldiers. He dwelt in particular on the speech at the "Rukh" congress by People's Deputy Colonel V. Martirosyan, who arrogated for himself the right to speak on behalf of the Army. The Army was and will be together with the party and the people, and nobody will succeed in driving a wedge between them.

Representatives of the "Rukh" leadership were also offered the platform. USSR People's Deputy V. Yavorivskiy tried to introduce dissonance into the general tone of the speeches. With incomprehensible irony he greeted the veterans and schoolchildren who, as he seemed to understand, "had been brought here." But, on encountering an unfavorable reaction, he changed his tone and tried to explain that, despite everything, the theme of the Ukrainian People's Movement congress was a call for the unity of all progressive forces fighting for the ideals of perestroyka.

The meeting was attended and addressed by the writer B. Oleynik, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and Yu. Yelchenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ukrainian KGB Chairman Interviewed

PM1909082989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General N.M. Golushko, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic KGB chairman and USSR people's deputy, by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent N. Karpova: "The KGB Without the 'Secret' Stamp"—date and place of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [Karpova] The opinion exists (and this was said at the Supreme Soviet session) that interethnic conflicts in a number of regions in the country would not have become so acute if the KGB had worked better in the localities. Do you believe that the Ukrainian state security organs are sufficiently familiar with the situation and will prevent interethnic conflicts and mass anti-Soviet and antisocialist demonstrations in the republic? What legal actions can and should they take?

[Golushko] I believe that the complex situation in interethnic relations alarms every honest Soviet person today. Bloody clashes, injuries, refugees... All this cannot but provoke deep worries and serious reflection. It is necessary to understand where and when basic mistakes were made in nationalities policy and who made them. I remember the postwar years in Kazakhstan, where I was raised together with other children of my age evacuated from the Ukraine—Poles and Ukrainians—and Germans and Ingush expelled from their places of permanent residence for no reason. And we all, people of various nationalities, shared a difficult fate, bread, joy, and tears alike. Having grown up in a working international family, I regard as criminal behavior any attempt to drive a wedge between peoples, fuel nationalist hostility, and artificially pit the interests of one nation against those of another. I fully share the opinion which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed during his address to the Soviet people: The present generation and our descendants will curse both those who incited others to take this path and those who did not issue warnings in time to end the nationalist madness.

Our task is to stop violations of the principles of the Ukrainian people's fraternity. As part of their job, security officers must be well informed about extremist and anti-Soviet trends and tendencies and keep in check dangerous situations which threaten the interests of Soviet people, regardless of their nationality. And this is what we are trying to do.

The USSR Supreme Soviet has made it a criminal offense to make public appeals to overthrow or change the Soviet sociopolitical system by force or to violate the Soviet people's national and racial equality. This provides a legal basis for both issuing strict warnings and instituting criminal proceedings against those who, using democratization slogans as a cover, try to use constitutional rights and freedoms for subversive ends.

We will resolutely apply existing legislation in order to protect perestroyka from destructive and antisocialist phenomena and from chauvinism and nationalism. I hope that this approach will meet with the support and attention of the republic's working people. It is necessary to publicly expose irresponsible instigators and to suppress attempts to increase tension and appeals to wrest fraternal republics from the USSR.

The party's renewed policy on nationality questions is clearly set out in the recently published draft CPSU platform. This platform provides wide possibilities for the economic and political sovereignty of republics. To bring order into our common home.

The working people of the Ukraine are discussing with great attention and deep concern the CPSU Central Committee statement on the disturbing situation in the Soviet Baltic republics. Everyone should learn from this tense situation which has also developed in other regions of the country. We must prevent another Fergana or Novyy Uzen!

I suppose that the criticism of law enforcement organs which have slackened opposition to separatists' plans or else are going along with nationalist sentiments is just. The interests of perestroyka and democratization require from all decent citizens concrete action geared to consolidating society and strengthening friendship between peoples. I speak frankly primarily about this at meetings with my voters, and I sense their active support. [Passage omitted]

[Karpova] In an interview with NOVOYE VREMYA (No 27 for this year) you said that a group of your staffers was working selflessly in Chernobyl. If possible, can you give details about the participation of the KGB in ensuring the safe use of nuclear plants?

[Golushko] This important side of our activity was also noted at the Supreme Soviet session in the speech of Deputy V.L. Lapygin, chairman of the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. We security officers, like all Soviet people, are worried about the problems of providing reliable security for nuclear power plants, particularly operating nuclear electric power stations. The accident at Chernobyl set our state many new tasks and the place of the state security organs in resolving them was determined. Our staffers react in the most principled way to any situation that threatens normal work at nuclear power stations and the life and health of the personnel. Ukrainian security officers participated in the investigation of the real causes of the Chernobyl accident, are making their contribution to eliminating its consequences, and have the difficult duty of ensuring nuclear, radiation, and fire safety at all nuclear power stations on the republic's territory. Some of them have already had to be replaced in the Chernobyl region primarily because of medical evidence. But there has been no instance of any of our employees refusing to carry out their duty in a high-risk area.

There are other specific features in this matter. One cannot ignore the real danger of nuclear terrorism, attacks on nuclear plants, and crimes committed using various radioactive materials. In order to successfully carry out the tasks facing us, the majority of our employees have appropriate professional engineering training. [Passage omitted]

Leaders Sign Obituary of Former Ukrainian Minister

*PM1909101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Obituary of Aleksey Fedorovich Fedorov]

[Excerpts] On 9 September 1989 Aleksey Fedorovich Fedorov, individual union pensioner and twice Hero of the Soviet Union, died at the age of 89 after a long, serious illness. [passage omitted]

In 1944-1957 A.F. Fedorov worked as first secretary of the Kherson, Izmail, and Zhitomir Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committees, and in 1957-1979 he was Ukrainian minister of social insurance. [Passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, A.Ya. Vinnik, I.A. Gerasimov, I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, V.A. Ivashko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, K.I. Masik, Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, K.T. Mazurov,

Lithuanian Party Aide Quizzed on Independence

PM1509133789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Yu. Paletskis, chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent T. Karyakina under the general heading "Parallel Dialogue": "'To Understand and Forgive'"—first three paragraphs are correspondent's introduction under the heading "Lithuania, September"]

[Text] "I keep a photograph of myself with Yustas Paletskis, first president of Soviet Lithuania, as a cherished relic," V. Rusakov, an old Communist living in the city of Feodosiya, wrote to the editorial office. "What a person he was—a revolutionary and a romantic, a poet and journalist, a charming and principled person. What is happening in Lithuania today? I am convinced that it needs Paletskises."

The reader's letter was one of the reasons for my trip to the neighboring republic. The trip was all the more interesting since there is someone in Vilnius about whom it seems the letterwriter did not know—another Yustas Paletskis, son of the republic's first president and chief of the Ideological Department, works in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. He willingly agreed to an interview with the journalist and proved that he had inherited a lot of his father's professional and human qualities. He is tall, smart, and charming, with gray hair. He carefully weighs his words when he talks and does not evade acute questions. Naturally, there were some such questions and, in one way or another, they boiled down to the same thing: the fact of the signing (in Sweden, on Gotland Island) by him, Yustas Yustasovich Paletskis, of the sensational Declaration on Lithuania's Sovereignty.

I am grateful to my interlocutor for our frank dialogue. Without adding anything myself to it, and without making a rash biased judgment from the outside about events taking place in the sovereign republic, I leave it to the people living there and seeing everything from the inside and with firsthand experience of everything to judge this.

[Karyakina] Are you like your father? And how precisely?

[Paletskis] There probably are some similarities. It is difficult for me to judge as regards appearance. But as for character—of course. Now I frequently have to answer the question to what degree my father would understand my current position, how close we were, and how we understood each other. I am sure he would understand me, and in principle I believe that I am continuing my father's line, even taking into account this letter from Feodosiya. Incidentally, I know the photograph. Just look in the memoirs published by "Politizdat."

I have tried to inherit my father's democratic approach and his attentive attitude to people. As far as I know, he never thought he had the right to decide for someone. Even when he occupied an important post, he did not become conceited. I can see a connection in this respect... My present position largely represents what I saw and understood of my father's position. He had a slogan which was odd for a Communist at that time (I must explain that his relations with the church were strained), it was a Christian slogan: To try to understand everyone and if possible, to try to forgive people. Not to judge right away so categorically, but to understand the motives, to understand why a person acted precisely in this way. And this, as certain old Communists, members of underground organizations, or young Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] members told me, was a very incomprehensible position in the postwar period. He was a rare bird then, in the postwar years. You know, there were idealists, they all believed in socialism, believed that this was the only correct path. But what was in fashion? Principledness, cruelty, I would say, even ruthlessness sometimes. Suddenly there was somethinng different, the thing which I constantly sensed with my father—humanity, tolerance and a desire to **understand.** To understand and **forgive** not from the viewpoint of class positions, but in a human fashion.

When I was working in Switzerland, I was very glad to make the acquaintance of Georges Simenon—he repeated my father's motto, without knowing, of course. That the main point in life is to understand another person and, if possible, to forgive him. I was very glad that two so very different people professed similar principles.

[Karyakina] Does the very fact that your surname at the bottom of the declaration stands next to the surnames of the party's political opponents somehow determine your convictions? Or is it what we began by talking about—"trying to understand"—that element of your father's philosophy?

[Paletskis] Both, probably. There is a lot of truth in what Viktor Ivanovich Rusakov writes, but what is missing, or not present in sufficient quantity, is the desire and ability to understand, to show some flexibility, and to look for new approaches. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev—how did he win over the entire world? By breaking with the old stereotypes, by advocating the new thinking, by the fact that this is the only alternative in our age, when we are approaching the year 2000. When the very existence of mankind is in question. The new approaches: What seemed impossible yesterday is normal today. It's the same with this signature at the bottom of the declaration. I believe that if these processes continue—we will proceed normally toward perestroyka and detente in international relations along the path of this national rebirth in the good sense of the word. I would wish such a national rebirth to the Russian people....

If we return to the old approach, of course, this will be nonsense. As the subject has arisen, then the well known piece in PRAVDA concerning this sensational "Declaration" —"Only Facts"—should be mentioned. It contains the line **"in Soviet-occupied Lithuania."** These words were not in the Lithuanian-language original to which I put my name. Gotland is not a city but an island. I am a journalist by profession and I know that if an accusation is made, its authenticity should be checked. This was not done....

Here, incidentally, is the Lithuanian original of the "Declaration." The text is very short: "Having heard reports about Lithuania's present situation (PRAVDA read: Soviet-occupied Lithuania. Look—this was not in the text), reports about the political, economic, ecological, and social position of Lithuania, culture, education, young people's upbringing, and the role of the church in the people's national rebirth, and also having shared our thoughts with the participants of the 'European Lithuanians Study Week' about possible ways to solve these problems, we came to the common conclusion that the vital aim of all the world's Lithuanians is to restore an independent Lithuanian state."

[Karyakina] But Lithuania, as enshrined in the USSR Constitution, is a sovereign state. Is there a difference in meaning between independence—as in the "Declaration"—and sovereignty?

[Paletskis] The Constitution states that Lithuania is a sovereign socialist state. Unfortunately, these words are not implemented in practice. Our aim is a sovereign, independent state. What will it be like—independent, to what degree, and by what treaties and ties will it be bound—that is the question...

[Karyakina] What do you mean, what will it be like? Socialist or nonsocialist?

[Paletskis] Only socialist. But, specifically, what will be the degree of independence, what will the treaties transfer to union sovereignty, maybe something else—neither Mikhail Sergeyevich nor Algirdas Brazauskas can answer this question now... This is the search, this is the goal.

[Karyakina] Nonetheless, if you are already moving toward this goal, then it must exist at least in the mind of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee?

[Paletskis] It is for this purpose that we are calling a congress and a Lithuanian Communist Party Program which will clearly outline the goals and ways of reaching these goals is being formulated. But, I repeat, this will be the collective opinion, this will be the opinion of Lithuania's Communists. But now, I repeat, no one, however intelligent or high-ranking, can give a clear answer... What does our statement in reply to the CPSU Central Committee document say? You have probably read it? That Lithuania's existence is unimaginable outside the Soviet Union. This is what it says. But, I think no one knows what this will really look like.

[Karyakina] How did you personally and your department participate in the preparation of this statement by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee?

[Paletskis] Of course, our department prepared the statement, like all the others. A team has formed of intelligent, thoughtful people who provide the basis, then we get together and something crystallizes during the preparation of the text. Frequently veterans and representatives of other nationalities level against the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus the charge that the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has no stance. But it does have a stance. The fact is that this stance does not coincide with what these people would like to see. This is what makes them scream: It has not taken a stance. The task of the Central Committee (which is an elected organ) is certainly to reflect majority opinion.

[Karyakina] Only to reflect or to form, to direct?

[Paletskis] Of course, to direct, to form, to seek, but now times have changed. So what if someone filled with this spirit shouts: "This is how it used to be and if you don't take up this stance, this means that you do not have a stance." If you don't agree with me, then you are a kind of criminal and you don't have an opinion. This is incorrect: It has a stance, and it reflects the line of the majority, as the people want...

[Karyakina] As the people want... We know from history—these words were frequently simply a cover... When we say that the stances of the Lithuanian Communist Party remain firm, this means that they need to be formulated before the eyes of the people.

[Paletskis] You mean Germany in 1933—that the people do not always express what is formulated in their name. Indeed, Hitler came to power in an almost parliamentary manner. But the fact is that the situation in Europe at that time was unusual. You yourself know the role played by the stance of Stalin, who set the communists against the social democrats. When, unfortunately, the German Communist Party was unable to formulate its own policy and listen to the people's opinion, but had to act as part of the Comintern, that too was 1933. Not 1937-1938. Unfortunately, our Lithuanian Communist Party, which operated underground, as part of the Comintern, made a lot of mistakes. It adhered to this firm but, unfortunately, not always correct line. This firmness is not always synonymous with correctness. But flexibility and the ability to sense people's mood and at the same time not to influence, but to direct them—this is the main point.

There is one more very important point. Now a huge gap has objectively emerged between the information available to the average union reader and, for example, the Baltic reader, and this needs to be eliminated as soon as possible. Unfortunately, the average union reader does not known the true history of the Baltic republics. It was incorrectly presented. Now the history of the CPSU is once more being rewritten in Moscow. Unfortunately, we have no fewer of these blank spots and bloodstains, even more probably... Whereas Moscow can say that we ourselves did all this, in our republic, unfortunately, this was frequently done by others. This should be taken into account. Sometimes everything is seen differently from Moscow. But the stereotyped idea that things are clearer from Moscow needs to be eliminated. Matters concerning Moscow and the central regions are clearer from Moscow. But matters concerning the Baltic and other republics are clearest on the spot.

[Karyakina] Is the central press now being squeezed out by various informal publications? Does the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee have any influence on these publications?

[Paletskis] There are also distortions of the historical facts and fabrications in our press, and we discuss this. For example, the publication is under way of the memoirs written by former deputies of the People's Sejm in 1942-1943, when they were virtually writing under the muzzles of German rifles, tried to save themselves in every possible way, and presented events in a distorted fashion... And thereby saved their lives. Although there are many authentic details and historical facts, on the whole one cannot fail to take into account the moral atmosphere in which this was written. This is presented without any commentaries, often as an absolute truth, and the young people believe this...

At first there was mass euphoria and constant harping on the same note. Now the pendulum in principle has swung, and swung the other way. I would not say that it has gone too far, but sociological research and other facts indicate that all the same the Lithuanian Communist Party's stance is helping to make everyone begin thinking for themselves. I always say that the main point is to move away from mass thinking. Everyone needs to think independently so that everyone absorbs his own information and works out his own opinion. There is willingness to do this, and it is growing.

I would like to return to the CPSU Central Committee Statement. This is my personal opinion, but I would like to say that basically the events of 23 August were quite normal everywhere. There was virtually nothing which necessitated intervention from the center or from us. The statement unleashed a torrent of passions. Normally they would have died away, but now they have all been pushed to the surface and again they have provoked a huge wave of distrust of Moscow and of the central press as well. After this, see what a situation has emerged—everyone is being attacked indiscriminately—the broad, multifaceted "Sajudis" movement, and many other organizations. The threat which we read in the statement unites them. Then they again rise up, and against whom—against the Lithuanian Communist Party?

[Karyakina] Obviously, you, as a worker in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, differ in your political convictions from the people whose signatures are at the bottom of the Gotland declaration next to yours. But maybe I am mistaken—this proximity suggests political solidarity with them.

[Paletskis] I liked the note of doubt in the question. That's how questions should always be posed. I lived in Moscow and abroad, working in Soviet establishments for more than 20 years in all. I know Moscow. I know the Russian language and Russian culture. I know the power structure, but I would never categorically start judging the actions of some Moscow party city committee worker. I simply do not know the situation. Although, I repeat, I lived there for a long time. For a person who does not know Lithuania's position, of course, all this is strange. I repeat, it is not correct to speculate on the fact that the readers are uninformed and that we ourselves, the party, have misled them. Then we say: What about class principledness, this is alignment with anti-Sovietists, and so on. These cliches are no good...

Of course, the Gotland declaration was a difficult decision for me. Of course, I thought a lot, and there was a great internal struggle. The proximity of these signatures was very unusual. I repeat, you have no idea of the forces in Lithuania trying to isolate the Communists... If I had not signed, I am sure that I would have done the party, the Lithuanian Communist Party, a disservice. At the crucial moment I would have been afraid... The party as a whole is still at the stage of rethinking both its role and its path of renewal.

[Karyakina] Are you sure that your decision is a constructive step forward which favors the cause of the Communist Party?

[Paletskis] I thought less about the overall effect and more about the effect on Lithuania. Thus, for instance, this appeal by the CPSU Central Committee is for the all-union public, and for ours to a lesser degree.

As of October last year the Lithuanian Communist Party has been pursuing an independent line, I would say. For 48 years before this, this was just talk.

Yes, in October last year a plenum was held at which Comrade Brazauskas was elected first secretary. If at that time we had blindly followed Moscow's instructions and directives, we would not be here today, we would not be talking now. That is axiomatic. People need to realize this. So, unfortunately, neither Moscow nor Leningrad will help us to a decisive degree. Our own people will help us, if they trust us.

Lithuania will be as the Lithuanian people want to see it. But only provided that perestroyka continues and that all these processes continue—democratization, and socialism's renewal. Provided that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's line, to which there is no alternative, prevails. This is our main weapon. But we are interpreting things and acting in our own way, I am not afraid to say this, in an innovative way.

[Karyakina] Do you have a son?

[Paletskis] I have two. In Gotland there were two very serious attacks against me. Concerning my father—how dare Paletskis junior attend. Both those who signed and others defended me. They said that this was not so simple. In answer to the question, I said that it was most difficult for me to explain my position to my sons—incidentally, they, my sons, posed the most challenging questions from unorthodox positions. Now, I believe, they have taken up a reasonable stance and have a good understanding of the line of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which is renewing itself. Yes, the most difficult conversation was with my sons. When I said that there, I was applauded.

Baltic Military Council Issues Appeal

LD1909122789 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The council members of the Baltic military district have issued an appeal to the party and state organs, public organizations, and all citizens of the Baltic republics. The tense situation in the Baltic region and malicious accusations against the Soviet Army prompted this move. Here's the appeal:

Certain people find it convenient to shift blame for all misfortunes and troubles on the Soviet Armed Forces, to depict Soviet soldiers and officers as a malicious and cruel force, and to assert that in military units human dignity is being tramped down. As a result, the Soviet Army is labelled an occupationist army, hostile to the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian nations.

Ideas of this kind are, unfortunately, materialized through the efforts of extremists. By inciting slogans, disrespect for the soldiers who perished in the battles for the liberation of the Baltic countries, and for military cemeteries, attempts are made to erase the memory of the Soviet Army's great liberation mission in World War II.

Therefore, we'd like to ask certain defenders of national interests if they would have anybody to take care of today had not the multinational Soviet Army defeated fascism.

Discriminatory actions taken in respect of the military men and their families do irreparable harm to the unity of the army and the people, reads the appeal issued by the council members of the Baltic military district.

Well, the objectivity of the appeal is left to the judgement of our listeners. Today, unstatutory relations in the army still do exist, and peace time victims are added to a list.

Editor Discusses Lithuanian Party Declaration

LD1509130089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 30 Aug 89 p 1

[Lead editorial article by Mindaugas Barysas, chief editor, entitled "Our anxiety And Our Hopes," under the rubric "We Must Weigh Every Step."]

[Text] Lithuanian communists are strongly determined to continue on the road to restructuring and to abide by the statutes, formulated at the 18th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee. With total awareness and sober appraisal of the situation in Lithuania, as well as, outside its boundaries, and being guided by vital interests of Lithuania and of its every citizen, we reiterate again, that we are responsible for the future of us all and we call upon everyone to unite.

From the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee declaration, published yesterday.

Our recent days have been very eventful. They have caused widespread reactions, by the way, and not just within the Soviet Union. The 50th anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its secret protocols, has focused worldwide attention on the Baltics. Activities, commemorating these events, rippled across the entire Republic. Both the press and the radio reports from Lithuania, were often accompanied by commentaries—varied, rather different, not always favorable.

There probably exists, not a single individual, currently unaware of the Central Committee, Communist PartySU Statement Regarding The Situation In The Baltics. Many heard the text read by the announcer, as early as, Saturday night, when they tuned in to the Central Television informational program "Vremya." Others read this declaration in the Sunday papers and are now discussing the most important assertions and basic statutes with their relatives, friends, neighbors and co-workers. Yesterday, the Republic papers carried the declaration by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, that had been adopted following a discussion of this question at the 20th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

No one remains indifferent, in the face of significant events and their assessment. Residents of our Republic's capital and other cities and rayons, relayed their first reactions, to the editorial office, by telephone. TIESA area correspondents relayed the readers' opinion. First reaction letters from Vilnius have been received. Some telegrams also came. A multitude of letters arrived yesterday, from many Lithuanian cities, rayons and residences. What moods are reflected in this reaction and what is most characteristic of them?

Having familiarized themselves with the CPSU Central Committee declaration, people agree, this is, basically, a document inviting dialogue and consolidation, urging circumspect action and measurement of every step. The tone predominant, at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, was also similar. Many agree, the ensuing situation demands deep understanding, real and earnest assessment and decisive action, in order to cleanse the restructuring process from extremism, and destructive and harmful tendencies. The expressed opinions, are not always, in agreement, however. As is demonstrated by the letters published today, of which some, mindful of the most significant recent activities, refer to individual assertions of the CPSU Central Committee declaration, as too categorical, and question the basis for one formulation or another, or else, propose to reject them, as tendentiously motivated and biased. Speaking out publicly is beneficial—that too, is a sign of restructuring.

Assessments always depend on the assessor, the scope of his point of view and his ability to see, not only separate facts, but also to be able to separate the most characteristic ones, and to deliberate flexibly and generalize justly. It is important to conscientiously ascertain how well-founded an earlier formed opinion may be, and whether it is the result of one's own thinking or has been handed down by someone else. We all must recognize, not only that which is pleasing, in life. Secondly, the events in the Baltics and their official assessments, must not be separated from the economic and political situation of the entire country.

Is there a current shortage of sources, that destabilize anxiety? Let us consider who would gain from promoting, in Lithuania, real civil conflict and massive street confrontations? We are certain this type of danger, currently does not exist. Can we be that sure, however, it will not be provoked and happen tomorrow?

Several veterans, who spoke at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, in line with a custom, developed over a period of decades, urged an unconditional approval of the CPSU Central Committee declaration. One may approve, however, something one is in agreement with. There are some lines and paragraphs, in the declaration, however, that give rise to a desire to argue and to attempt to excuse, or to explain, felt by more than one individual. Although the Baltic area is not large, the past decades have prepared for all three neighboring republics, a common fate and many of the problems, arising here, are very similar, but differences also abound. For this reason, is it correct to equate all that is transpiring in Estonia and Lithuania?

The events that have taken place last week, were not of equal significance. People attended meetings at the same Hill Park, in Vilnius, for two consecutive days. The meetings differed, however, and not just in numbers of those present.

During one, the most sensitive heartstrings were touched, in urging to open the pages of the Lithuanian nation's recent past, with serious composure, and to compare the lines inscribed there with the proposed conclusions currently provided with known facts and available documents. The speakers urged Lithuania's people of various nationalities to look at life with open eyes, and to act according to dictates of current realities. Without the usual, characteristic of meetings, demands of one sort or another, this one was characterized by new sounds of exhortations toward national conciliation, not confrontation, toward concrete accomplishments and moral rebirth. Statements indicated, the current situation was such, that no serious task can be resolved without the Communist Party, while dissent, at the nation's center, and confrontation among various nationalities, may lead only to an impasse.

Another meeting, held on a different day, to mark the same occasion, differed completely. Lithuanian Freedom League activists, who had, for several days surrounded Vilnius Archcathedral's bell tower, with their banners, came with their earlier as, well as their new extremist slogans. Both the meeting and the march by its participants expressed the sentiments of a handful of people, only, however, this was transformed into a large barrel of tar, in the ocean of beautiful emotions and hopes. It will take more than a day, apparently, to cleanse ourselves from this tar, which has been washed up by the surf.

Is this only an isolated accidental outburst? Recently—let us be candid—there have been occurences of attempts to discredit restructuring in our Republic. New demands are raised at various opportunities. Does a dialogue always follow, and are reasonable arguments heard? Let us recall, for instance, the signature collecting activity, begun by the Freedom League, to oust the Army from Lithuania. As early as, the middle of May, the Republic Government urged that each action be weighed, in a particularly sober and responsible manner. However, this activity continues even now. Is this not due again, to the ambitions of its perpetrators, that keep them from taking a small step back?

We can only express our regret that, the well-founded opinion and sober exhortations, set forth by Republic leaders, in open dialogue with Sajudis and other social movements, are by no means, always heard. This is why, we are reminded once more, in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Declaration, that no state can tolerate direct attacks against the existing order.

We talk about establishing a law-based society, however, we forget the government's right to protect its state institutions from insults and attacks.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which lasted late into the night, on Monday, reasserted once more, on behalf of Lithuania's communists, Lithuania's historical perspective as that of—an independent, democratic, socialist state. No one must stop our march along the road of democracy, humanism and foundation of law-based institutions.

The hour is at hand, when each one of us must be aware of the greatest responsibility for maintaining calm in every city, village, residence and collective. We must do everything to enable everyone to augment the actual contribution to restructuring and to participate, but not hinder, the entire nation's march along the road to restructuring.

Latvia's Vagris Discusses Talks With Gorbachev

LD1809121489 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2005 GMT 17 Sep 89

[From the "Amber Coast"—program]

[Text] This week, the first secretaries of the Communist Party, chairmen of the presidiums of supreme soviets, and chairmen of councils of ministers of all three Baltic republics, were invited to Moscow. They met at the CPSU Central Committee with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and also Politburo representatives Medvedev and Razumovskiy.

After his return to Latvia, Janis Vagris, first secretary of our Communist Party, gave a television interview. In a conversation with journalist Janis Gavars, the basic ideas of the meeting, and how the Baltic representatives assessed the recent CPSU Central Committee statement were discussed.

[Begin recording] [Gavars] On a number of occasions, Comrade Gorbachev remined us that we must form a federation of a new type, quite a strong federation. In this connection I would like to know how he looked upon the economic independence endeavors of the three Baltic republics. Was this touched upon in your talk?

[Vagris] This was touched upon, too, on this question, er, in my, well, speaking I also touched upon, because this is the chief, well, the first step which we are already taking in practice now, because, well, something must be begun to be done concretely. Programs have been drawn up, yes. And the economy, it is a concrete matter. And, well, this subject was supplemented there by Comrade Bresis, precisely from the practical standpoint; Comrade Gorbunovs from the legal standpoint, which is also necessary, at the next session of the Supreme Soviet, and at the session of the congress of People's Deputies, so that, around this question, and also all three republics—in fact, one of a kind of a central question today is precisely this economic independence and this new form of economy. [sentence as heard] (?They) support this. [end recording]

In the conversation with the first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee about the meeting in Moscow, other questions were touched upon which concern the Baltic region's and all-Union relations after 26 August CPSU Central Committee statement.

[Begin recording] [Gavars] Was the question about the central press touched upon?

[Vagris] Yes, the question about the central press was touched upon. Er, we expressed, well, that kind of complaints that, er, these processes are, well, reflected, after all, in a one-sided manner. And after this statement we even expressed such a complaint that we felt as if some kind, as it were, well, kind of campaign was waged. Well, Comrade Gorbachev kind of, well, came back kind of a little jokingly perhaps. He said, well, do not think there is any kind of campaign waged, er, because he said, well, we receive a great many protests, let us say, from the Baltic republics about this document. Say, then we, too, can regard also such complaints against you, the republic's leaders that you, too, have organized some kind of a campaign, although we have not organized a campaign. Well, but he said as follows, he said to Comrade Medvedev, well, if it is so, in the republic, in the republics there are such opinions, he says, then our attitude toward it must be reexamined. [end recording]

New Latvian Union Views Basic Tasks

LD1809173789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 18 Sep 89

[From the "News of Latvia" program presented by (Vladimir Abramson) and (Yuriy Kuspelo)]

[Experts] [(Kuspelo)] An important event in the past few days has been the constituent congress of the Latvian Union of Workers (Soyuz Rabochikh Latvii). This new public organization has declared itself on the political scene.

[(Abramson)] In the Latvian Union of Workers there is no distinction made on the grounds of nationality, and that is, of course, nice to hear.

[(Kuspelo)] The constitution and the initial programme of the union have been adopted. (Sergey Yegoryenok), a worker at Riga's Carriage Building Works, has been elected its chairman.

At the microphone is (Anna Afonina), a worker at the Ogre knitwear combine and a delegate to the congress:

[Begin (Afonina) recording] In recent times we have all become so carried away by politics—by who does or does not understand whatever—that we have forgotten the main thing—care for the working person. [passage omitted]

If, as a union, we defend the rights of workers, then consequently we will be competing with the formal associations or organizations that exist at the present moment. More specifically, with the trades unions as such. And so, we decided to do this ourselves, irrespective of nationality.

Personally, I would say our basic tasks now are: To step up this movement, to provide information, propaganda and extensive explanation about this movement, and to stand up to the formal trade unions. And if they make concessions or try and cooperate with us, then we must monitor their activity in the first place and assume firm control of all the assets, managerial prerogatives, the socialist competitions and all the rest. They do not offer rights, they take them! Who from in this instance? The working class! [end recording]

New Prosecutor Appointed for Latvia in Moscow

PM1909102189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 30 Aug 89 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "News Item"]

[Text] In accordance with Articles 166 and 167 of the USSR Constitution V.-S.B. Darkshis has been appointed Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] prosecutor by order of USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev. He was working previously as Latvian SSR first deputy prosecutor and chief of the investigation administration.

At the time of publication of the USSR general prosecutor's order the amendments to the Latvian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) adopted at the republic Supreme Soviet session, according to which the Latvian SSR prosecutor is appointed by the republic Supreme Soviet, had not assumed legal force.

Estonian Communists Urge 'Federal Association'

PM1909101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Reprint of letter sent to Vilyandiskiy Rayon (Estonia) paper SAKALA: "The Estonian Path to Independence"]

[Text] We consider that the future transformation of the Soviet Union should be a combination of two different principles... some of the Union and some of the autonomous republics could establish a Federal Association. Some of the current republics, including Estonia, could have political, economic, and defense links with the Soviet Union on the basis of fixed-term treaties. Given that Estonia would be a full-fledged entity under international law, such a model would also be a good basis for the future refinement of state building.

[Signed] Ya. Allik, first secretary of Vilyandiskiy Estonian Communist Party Rayon Committee [raykom]; T. Kork, first secretary of Rakvereskiy Estonian Communist Party Raykom; T. Laak, first secretary of Tartu Estonian Communist Party City Committee, and Yu. Raydla, first secretary of Pyarnuskiy Estonian Communist Party Raykom.

Estonian Strike Group Issues Statement

PM1809143989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Aug 89 p 3

[Undated "Statement by the Republican Council of Representatives of Strike Committees of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic," being one of two documents "submitted to the Commission of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"; an editorial note reads: "The documents are published without any changes, exactly as received by ETA"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

We have been forced by a sense of profound concern and proletarian responsibility for the future of socialism and Soviet power in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to urgently address this statement to you.

This is the second year running that a political struggle for socialist renewal and elimination of the deformations of socialism has been waged in the republic with growing tension and class poignancy. This struggle has spread to the most important questions of our Communist ideology, the political system's reform, the economy's perestroyka on the principles of economic accountability, the creation and functioning of a socialist rule-of-law state, the restoration of social justice, and the reliable protection of working people's rights.

Unfortunately, this struggle has taken an exceptionally dangerous direction, and is characterized by the permanent presence of events and facts which could lead to open class confrontation and conflict between the main forces active in the republic.

Having, in the course of perestroyka, adopted as state ideology the reactionary ideology of "the indigenous nation's priority" elaborated by right-wing forces in the People's Front of Estonia, the republic's leadership organizes and channels all its activity to ensure its practical implementation in politics, the economy, legislation, and in the sphere of human rights and interethnic mutual relations.

The draft theses of the Estonian Communist Party Program proclaim all this as building "humane, people's socialism with a human face." In actual fact, this means complete elimination of everything achieved in Estonia during the years of Soviet power, and the republic's transformation into a petty bourgeois state along the lines of the Estonian Republic of 1920-1940.

The demand for the restoration of "full sovereignty" in the sphere of state and economic relations with the USSR and the fraternal republics which has been backed by a mighty propaganda clamor, the appeal to the public of capitalist countries in the Baltic region—all this pursues one single goal: To achieve a confederative structure of the country and thus to ensure withdrawal from the composition of the USSR at any time that might be convenient for Estonia.

Under the pretext of protecting Estonia's political sovereignty and combating the administrative edict system, laws contrary to the USSR Constitution are passed, current Union legislation is disregarded, and legislative and administrative acts are adopted which infringe the political, socioeconomic, and other rights of the republic's ethnic minorities. All this leads to legal uncertainty and instability, causes anxiety among the whole population, and has already resulted in a sharp growth of crime.

The absence of proper monitoring of cooperatives' activity has resulted in a swelling of their number in the nonproduction sphere. Speculation, which has to all intents and purposes been legalized, has produced groups of individuals enjoying unearned incomes and enriching themselves at the expense of the working class and the peasantry. Coupled with the growing commodity shortages, this has created indignation among the population and has added to the tension which is fraught with explosive conflicts.

Some rare exceptions apart, all mass media in the republic are under the control of right-wing forces from the People's Front of Estonia and have been artificially maintaining political tension for the second year running. Under the guise of democracy, they preach total license, and ideological indiscriminateness and promiscuity. Socialist pluralism is transformed into criticism of the history of the Soviet state, the party, and the revolutionary struggle of the people. The Armed Forces and the history of the USSR's struggle for peace during the prewar years and the Great Patriotic War are the targets of special attacks. The mass media give the "green light" to anyone who is prepared to abandon the gains of Soviet power in Estonia.

Anti-Soviet and antisocialist forces, including former stooges of the German fascist occupiers, have actively joined the political struggle. They openly proclaim as national heroes those who actively fought against Soviet power in the revolution and during the Great Patriotic War. Monuments are unveiled to those enemies of Soviet power and socialism with the full connivance of state and party organs.

Calls for neofascism and national exclusiveness can be heard among students, hatred for the Russian people is being fanned. The upsurge of national awareness and glasnost and the condemnation of the periods of personality cult and stagnation are being used for antisocialist purposes, in unflagging attacks against the gains of Soviet power.

By the end of the 1988, the Estonian Communist Party was already divided along national lines. The de facto split occurred on the main issue of political struggle in Estonia—socialist renewal or creation of a petty bourgeois state with the external trappings of socialism. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and its Bureau proved totally incapable of taking, firmly and in a principled fashion, the path of genuine socialist renewal and are forced to trail in the wake of the policies of right-wing forces within the People's Front of Estonia.

The policy of "the indigenous nation's priority" and the fact that it has been enshrined in the laws adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet 16 November 1988 and in the laws on the language and the elections to local soviets, have infringed the political and other rights of Estonia's ethnic minorities which make up about 40 percent of its population. Their demands are ignored and not taken into account. Any expression of disagreement with the policy of "priority" is classed as extremism. The government is taking measures to stifle the working people's struggle for their rights. The working class and all honest Communist cannot and never will agree to this.

We have been forced to resort to the most acute form of struggle—**political strikes.**

The republic is in a profound political and economic crisis. The gains of socialism, the Estonian Communist Party's unity in the course of perestroyka, and Estonia's socialist future are in jeopardy.

We perceive a way out of this crisis only along the path of complete and principled fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, the 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution, and the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolutions.

For the purpose of stabilizing the political situation in Estonia and extricating ourselves from the crisis, we demand a condemnation of the ideology of "the indigenous nation's priority," as well as the complete and unconditional rejection of its promotion in political and economic reform, in legislation, in the socioeconomic program, in culture and science, and in ethnic relations.

We advocate equality for all of Estonia's peoples and nationalities and shall uphold this until the end.

We demand a ban on the activity of all groupings and movements taking antisocialist and anti-Soviet positions and opposing socialist renewal.

We propose a condemnation of the preaching of national exclusiveness in any form and of attempts to revive neofascism.

We aim for proportional representation of ethnic minorities in all organs of power and management of the republic and in party organs.

We demand the repeal of all legislative and administrative acts contradicting the USSR Constitution and all-Union laws, including the 10 August 1989 Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on criminal and administrative prosecution of participants in political strikes and all citizens supporting it.

We demand a ban on access to mass media by any individuals propagandizing antisocialist ideas and national and social inequality and undermining the foundations of the country's and the party's unity, and also the dismissal from work in the mass media of those who fail to observe the principle of partymindedness and the norms of socialist pluralism and morals.

We put forward a demand for full observance of the "Law on the State Enterprise (Association)" and are against any constraints on the working class as the basic and main force of socialist perestroyka.

We call on all working people in the country to support our demands and to raise their voice in protest against anti-perestroyka and antisocialist forces in Estonia.

Our unity, our proletarian solidarity and support are the guarantee of success by the policy of socialist renewal in the republic.

There is no room for nationalism and anti-Sovietism in socialist Estonia!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

[Signed] **Republican Council of Representatives of Strike Committees of the Estonian SSSR. A. Yakushev, A. Lykashev, A. Kopytin, K. Kopytina, M. Lysenko, V. Shurykin, Yu. Rudyak, V. Maksimov, G. Kulkov.**

Estonian Strike Group Suggests Agenda

PM1809143189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Aug 89 p 3

["The Republican Council of Representatives of Strike Committees of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Proposes that the Following Question Be Discussed at the 22 August 1989 Sitting:"—being one of two documents "Submitted to the Commission of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"; an editorial note reads: "The documents are published without any changes, exactly as received by ETA"]

[Text] "On condemnation of the theory of the indigenous nation's priority, the complete and unconditional rejection of its promotion in political and economic reform, in legislation, in the socioeconomic program, in culture and science, and in ethnic relations."

1. The theory of "the indigenous nation's priority" must be perceived as reactionary and contrary to Communist ideology and the CPSU's nationalities policy in present-day conditions.

Its propaganda in any form in mass media must cease.

Special attention must be given to explaining the mistaken and harmful nature of this theory among the indigenous population which has for a long time been brainwashed in the spirit of "priority."

The activity of organizations, groups, and individual citizens hewing to the positions of free development for every nation and ethnic group, of strengthening their friendship and equal cooperation in line with the principles of internationalism, must be supported and stepped up.

2. In the implementation of political reform in the republic:

—an end must be put to the escalation of separatism in the activity of representative organs of power and management at all levels and in the implementation of measures to develop the initiative of citizens and public organizations;

—the reorganization of the leadership of local affairs in line with the principles of self-management, self-financing, and self-sufficiency must be coordinated with republic-wide and statewide interests;

—the formation of soviets of people's deputies at all levels and the mechanism for their functioning must ensure the manifestation and shaping of the interests and will of all classes and social groups, which must be harmoniously exercised in the policy of republican organs of power and management;

—the implementation of administrative reform and the reorganization of the territorial structure of management which developed during the years of Soviet power are to be deemed politically and economically unsubstantiated.

The aim pursued by the aforementioned measures is to ensure that, at subsequent stages of the introduction of republican economic accountability and of the implementation of the political concept of Estonian self-management as prepared by the People's Front of Estonia Problems Council:

—the implementation of all political reform measures proceeds from the formula: "There can be no strong republics without a strong Union, nor can there be a strong Union without strong republics"; radical transformations in the Soviet federation shall mean that it is given a new meaning, rather than it being totally rejected as having failed the test during its practical building in the USSR, as is now being done in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR];

—the activity of the corporate group of sociologists, philosophers, legal scientists, and workers from a number of mass media, who have for a long time propagandized the theory of "the indigenous nation's priority" is condemned as being anti-perestroyka, while the most offensive among them are taken to task along party lines;

—the question of national sovereignty is examined from the positions of the republic's voluntary entry into the Union and the transmission of part of its rights to central power and management.

The expansion of the republic's sovereignty as member of the USSR must be contained within the elaboration of effective state, social, and economic mechanisms ensuring the organic combination of national and international values and interests.

3. In the implementation of economic reform:

—provisions which lead largely to self-isolation and a break of existing economic ties with other republics must be ruled out of the republican economic accountability program;

—both Union-wide interests and the interests of union republics, economic ties with which have been established in the course of creating the unified national economic complex, must be included in the republican economic accountability concept;

—the rights of enterprises (associations) and labor collectives laid down in the relevant Union-wide laws must be fully taken into account during the implementation of measures for the republic's transition to economic accountability;

—labor collective councils must have the final say in the implementation of structural changes in industry, transport, power supply, communications, and the conversion [pereprofilirovaniye] or de-amalgamation of enterprises;

—the political platform of the Estonian self-management concept must be rejected, and its discussion should be refused as unacceptable in principle;

—the implementation of republican economic accountability must not lead to the creation of a so-called "free labor force market" and, whenever it might be necessary to reorganize enterprises (organizations), state programs for employment and retraining with tuition in the Estonian language must be promptly compiled;

—a program must be elaborated to shape a national working class for key sectors in industry, especially major sectors working in the interests of the country's unified national economic complex;

—persons who have elaborated and are upholding the political and economic concept of Estonian self-management and are pursuing the goal of confederative structure of the USSR, the republic's gradual break with the country's economic complex, the economy's total reorientation toward the Western market, and the creation of a petty bourgeois-type state with socialist trappings (E. Savisaar, R. Otsason) must be dismissed from the republic's Council of Ministers;

—the "agreed basic principles of republican economic accountability," signed by the chairman of the Estonian SSR State Planning Committee at the conference of specialists from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia held in Riga 21-23 September 1988 must be declared null and void and contrary to socialist perestroyka;

—there must be examination of the question of proportional representation on organs of economic management by leadership cadres from the ethnic minority in accordance with its contribution to the development of the republic's national economy and the payments it makes into its budget;

—there must be condemnation of the trend toward replacing the center's administrative edict system in the republic by a similar system with national "priority" overtones.

4. In the creation of a rule-of-law state:

—there must be condemnation of "forestalling" tactics in the preparation and adoption of new laws, which would lead to legal instability in the republic, confrontation with Union organs of power, infringement of the national minority's constitutional rights, and adoption of discriminatory laws;

—the forthcoming Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session must repeal all legislative acts, including the declaration of sovereignty and the law on amendments and additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution, adopted at the 16 November 1988 session;

—certain provisions of Estonian SSR laws, listed in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated 16 August 1989, must be brought in line with the current USSR Constitution and with international law acts ratified by the USSR;

—there must be legal guarantees of the equality of languages in the republic and the free choice of language of instruction;

—the deadlines for learning the Estonian language must be extended to practically realistic limits, and the relevant articles of the Estonian SSR law on the state language must be amended accordingly;

—the preparation of a program for material backup for this law's implementation must be accelerated;

—draft copies of newly prepared laws must be distributed among all labor collectives for preliminary discussion and, following the examination of proposals by relevant Supreme Soviet commissions, drafts must be published for nationwide discussion;

—a party-state commission must be appointed to examine the question of the legal competence of persons who justified the need for passing the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's illegal resolution "On Measures to Ensure Legality and Law and Order in the Republic" and to dismiss them from the offices they hold, notifying the mass media and the Republican Council of Strike Committees accordingly;

—the institution of criminal proceedings by the republican Prosecutor's Office as a result of the political strike organized by the working class in defense of its constitutional rights is in fact a recurrence of mass repressions during the personality cult period, it sharply exacerbated the situation, and expanded the scale of the strike which threatens to spread to other regions in the country;

—the expediency of officials from the Estonian SSR Prosecutor's Office, guilty of committing this illegal act, remaining in office must be examined according to established procedures. The results must be published in the press and the Estonian Republican Council of Strike Committees must be informed;

—members of the Estonian Jurists Union who support its platform for the consolidation of laws of so-called "indigenous nation's priority" must be precluded from sitting on any commission for the preparation of new republican legislative acts;

—the pressure exerted by the Estonian Council of Ministers Presidium's operational commission on the Tallinn City Soviet Executive Committee on the question of holding a rally "In Defense of USSR Citizens' Rights" in Tallinn 21 July 1989 must be perceived as antidemocratic, anti-perestroyka, and promoting the escalation of political tension.

Other proposals stemming from the 10 August 1989 statement by the Republican Council of Strike Committees shall be submitted to the next sitting.

[Signed] Republican Council of Representatives of Strike Committees of the Estonian SSSR.

A. Yakushev, A. Lykashev, A. Kopytin, K. Kopytina, M. Lysenko, V. Shurykin, Yu. Rudyak, V. Maksimov, G. Kulkov.

Estonian People's Front Organizes Harvest Help

PM1909094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent I. Teterin report: "Practical Test"]

[Text] Tallinn—Freedom Square in Tallinn was busy early on Saturday morning. Buses drew up one after another, and groups of people dressed in their working clothes were assembling. There were no raucous speeches or highly charged appeals this time. "Gather the Harvest into the Granaries!" and "Implement Estonian Economic Accountability!" were the pithy slogans of the People's Front which accompanied the crowd on their journey.

The inhabitants of Tallinn, Tartu, Pyarnu, and other Estonian cities have set off for many of the republic's farms. This mass act has been dubbed a people's toloka.

What is a toloka? Dal's dictionary provides a succinct definition: "A gathering of the populace called by a farm owner to work together for a day; the farmer provides a meal for his helpers, and this allows grain to be reaped, meadows to be mowed and threshed, and so forth in a single day."

In early September the leaders of the People's Front of Estonia appealed to the republic's citizens to refrain from any street actions. A mass political rally in Tallinn that had already been prepared was even called off. Instead of all this a nationwide toloka was planned for 16 September. Why? In the view of the People's Front leadership it is now time to move from words to action.

And now the fields are full of people. For instance, 140 people traveled from Tallinn to the "Ranna" State Farm [sovkhoz], which I visited yesterday. Sovkhoz Deputy Director Reyn Kutsar told me:

"We have been joined by geologists, students from the medical institute, and staffers from the Models Center. Needless to say, we are grateful for the help. The potato harvest this year looks like being a record. Certain fields are producing 300 quintals per hectare. Need we explain how important it is to harvest and store everything before the weather turns colder?"

Well, in the current situation this labor act by the People's Front is not only economically useful but also politically apposite. Since nothing unites people so much as working together and being concerned for the commonwealth. This path will probably prove to be promising for the entire people's movement.

As I am filing these lines there is a report on Estonian Radio about the progress of this action in various parts of the republic. The reports and interviews with public figures (Maryu Lauristin had just spoken) contained notes of disappointment. The overall assessment was that the toloka had attracted fewer people than the organizers had hoped. At any rate, far fewer than certain mass rallies, not to mention August's "Baltic chain."

It seems to me that this is entirely natural. The transition from the inspiration of rally democracy to the prosaic nature of specific work is a process that has its own difficulties. After all, as is well known, it is easier to talk than to work. And yet the criteria for a real policy are returns and specific results. They may be smaller than originally thought. But this alone is the most promising path today.

New Group Pledged To 'Consolidate' USSR

PM1909095789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[M. Semenyuk article: "In Search of Consensus"]

[Text] There was the fear that the constituent congress of the United Council of Russia would be held according to the established canons of soapbox politics: The programs of the representatives sent there from various patriotic movements and fronts seemed too diverse at first. But it emerged later that these misgivings were unfounded.

The association's coordinating council, whose convocation was reported in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, carried out thorough work to prepare the requisite documentation—the text of the association's statute, resolutions, and appeals—and thought out in detail the course of the plenary session with its subsequent so-called "discussion rostrum." So the congress began its work in Moscow's Sociopolitical Center. Representatives of more than 20 Russian patriotic, public, and cultural enlightenment organizations, unions, societies, and fronts were present in the hall. They included the All-Russian Culture Foundation, the Russian Artists' Fellowship, the Public Committee to Save the Volga, the International Slavonic

Literature and Slavonic Cultures Foundation, the Moscow United Front of Working People, the Leningrad United Front of Working People, the Union of Patriotic Organizations from the Urals and Siberia, and representatives of the international fronts from Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Moldavia, and other organizations.

The working class and perestroyka was a topic broached by many speakers. We know that the particular intensity of this topic was echoed in individual regions of the country by a wave of strikes.

"We began our perestroyka with the thesis of the renewal of socialism and the revolutionary restructuring of society," A. Sergeyev, representatives of the Moscow United Front of Working People, said, "but the idea is now being suggested with increasing frequency that there is no need to fear capitalism. Anyone who fears capitalism supposedly cannot consider himself a revolutionary. At first we endeavored to put an end to leveling and to abide by the principle of distribution according to labor, yet now the cult of superprofits is spreading like wildfire... All this puts the workers on their guard."

Russia's sovereignty and its political and economic position among the other union republics is an equally topical subject. We remember that a number of deputies both at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet session expressed regret that the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic does not, unlike other republics, have its own party organization and other public and state structures, and this does not make the best impact on every aspect of life. The speeches by the following were imbued with concern over these problems: S. Shatokhin (Committee to Save the Volga); S. Lykoshin (Russian Artists' Fellowship); G. Litvinovaya and M. Antonov (Union for the Spiritual Rebirth of the Fatherland); S. Gagarin (National Sobriety Campaign Union); and others.

The representatives of the union republics who sent their delegates to the congress expressed concern about the confrontation between people's fronts and international movements. P. Shornikov (Moldavian International Movement), for instance, said:

"In initiating perestroyka, we did not define our position on a most important problem—whether we want to preserve the Soviet federation. Determining this question is, perhaps, the most important task at present, because nationalism, especially in the form of radical extremism, is an obstacle to trip up perestroyka."

USSR People's Deputy Ye. Kogan (Estonian International Movement) said the following:

"When you think about the waves of nationalism that are sweeping through various regions and you compare and analyze the facts, you can see how skillfully the overall ground plan was rehearsed. Ranging from national disturbance in creative unions to the creation of people's fronts and ranging from the division of the population into groups—'indigenous' and 'nonindigenous'—to the adoption of laws, provisions, and amendments to constitutions which discriminate against all people who speak another language... That is why it is so important now to consolidate all healthy patriotic forces."

In his detailed speech A. Kuzmin, chairman of Moscow's "Fatherland" Patriotic Movement, spoke about the party's leading role in the perestroyka process and the need to coordinate the actions of regional patriotic movements and the work of local party organs.

"It is no coincidence, I believe, that unfounded criticism of the party and the whole political system that took shape as a result of October 1917 is being fueled at present," E. Volodin, representative of the International Slavonic Literature and Slavonic Cultures Foundation Russian Branch, said. "In my view, what lies behind this is an attempt to destroy our state system in its current political form and strike a blow against the party which is the agent of perestroyka and the barrier to chaos—political, national, or whatever."

The resolution adopted by the congress underlined the following. "The United Council of Russia association is a public organization formed on the basis of the principle of federalism and a voluntary association of collective members—Russian, public, formal, and informal organizations—who contribute on a constitutional basis to the cause of strengthening Russia as the consolidating basis of the USSR and consolidating the Soviet state as a historically-shaped, unified, multiethnic, socialist homeland."

Leningrad Meeting Backs Statement on Baltics

PM1909102389 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 89 p 1

[LENTASS report incorporating "Appeal by Meeting of Representatives of Public Organizations and Labor Collectives in Leningrad and the Oblast in Connection with the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics"; first seven paragraphs are appeal, last five paragraphs are LENTASS report]

[Text] The development of events in the Soviet Baltic region and in other parts of our multinational motherland is a source of alarm and pain for the people of Leningrad. Historically evolved political, economic, cultural, kinship, and family ties are collapsing before our eyes. True to the international traditions of Great October, we are extremely concerned at the growth of interethnic tension in the country and the persistent attempts by extremist forces to split the unity of our peoples.

Rallied in a united union for joint struggle for a better future for all our country's peoples, we firmly intend to follow our chosen path, the path defined by perestroyka.

Mindful of our responsibility to the country, we come out for the unity of its nations, against national discrimination, and for the socialist substance of the motherland's renewal. People of Leningrad voice their solidarity with all internationalists!

We appeal to all citizens of the USSR to deal a resolute rebuff to nationalist elements and to defend the rights and interests of people of every nationality! We urge all Soviet people, and Communists above all, to display amicability, tact, and tolerance toward the national feelings of representatives of all peoples and to direct joint efforts toward removing the economic, sociopolitical, and moral causes of interethnic conflicts.

Only the strengthening of our union on the principles of socialist internationalism, only joint work for perestroyka will be able to deliver us from crisis situations and ensure the steady enhancement of well-being and the free all-around development of each and everyone.

We appeal to all people of Leningrad and to working people in other parts of the country to support the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics and the party's platform on interethnic problems and to strengthen the friendship and union of all the nations and ethnic groups in our homeland. We will unite our patriotism and diligence under the slogans of socialist perestroyka—"Discipline. Openness. Democratism and Glasnost." No to total license, carelessness, and anarchy!

USSR citizens of all nationalities, our strength lies in unity!

Our Strength Lies in Unity!

Alarm and concern at the events in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were heard yesterday in the speeches of Leningrad people at a meeting in the Smolnyy of representatives of public organizations and labor collectives in the city and the oblast held in connection with the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics.

Opening the meeting, B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad party oblast committee, pointed out that the CPSU Central Committee statement is timely and born of necessity. It is very well thought out and contains no attempts to interfere in the republics' sovereign rights or to pressure anyone. The statement is imbued with sincere regret that such processes have developed there and is aimed at a call for reason, calm, and awareness of everything that is happening.

"We train teachers," L.A. Gildi, senior lecturer at Leningrad's A.I. Gertsen Pedagogic Institute, said in his speech, "and many of them have been and are being assigned to the Baltic region. Well, will schoolchildren call their teachers migrants? If we were to affix to all the apartment blocks rebuilt or built since the war in Baltic cities plates naming the people who did this, every block would be represented internationally. How can it now be stated that native Balts are citizens of the republics, while the rest are candidates not possessing full rights? I was a front-line soldier and was involved in the blockade, and I remember how huge masses of refugees came to Leningrad from the Baltic region in 1941, and the Leningrad City Soviet did not divide anyone up into native Leningraders and newcomers. Everyone was given equal rations of bread and yeast soup. Balts lie with Leningraders in the graves at Piskarevskoye Cemetery and in other places... There are many mixed families in the Baltic region, but no one made people get married, for you cannot command the heart. Nationalism is now encroaching here too and is beginning to destroy families. It will be very difficult to overcome this tragedy, and no one will take the place of parents for children or of children for parents. This must always be remembered...."

"In the Lettish children's home where I was brought up," Academician N.P. Bekhtereva, USSR people's deputy and director of the Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Medicine of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, shared her recollections, "I frequently greeted the morning with the word 'sveyke'—'hello'—because my friends were Lettish children. That friendship and broad professional contacts continue to this day. The Baltic region is very near and dear to the people of Leningrad, and many people have friends there. And today we must adopt an appeal not in general but address specific people, friends and colleagues. I personally appeal to scientists in the Baltic region to strengthen our fraternal international ties, and I believe that I will be joined by other Leningrad scientists."

Indeed, Leningrad is linked with its closest neighbors—Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—by thousands of indissoluble ties. And everyone who mounted the meeting rostrum spoke of this as his own personal concern. L.V. Vasilyeva, cloth layer at the "Pervomayskaya zarya" Association, addressed words to workers. The writer D.A. Granin spoke of long-standing ties among national literatures. Those present at the meeting applauded in support of the words of the appeal, which is being published.

Speech by Deputy Yu. Afanasyev Assailed

PM1709165789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent N. Volynskiy dispatch: "Toward Confrontation or Unity?"]

[Text] Leningrad, 16 Sep—An all-union conference of the country's democratic movements and organizations opened here today.

It is attended by representatives of some 50 people's fronts and other social formations from practically all the republics. Opinions are to be exchanged on the political situation in the country and society, the tasks of the democratic movement, problems of the national-territorial structure of the USSR, and possibilities for coordinating the activities of social movements. According to the organizers, some 80 participants gathered in the hall, but by the evening their number had doubled. I must add that more than 100 journalists are accredited here.

The main report was delivered by historian and USSR People's Deputy Yu. Afanasyev. Having presented a "political picture" of the situation in rather harsh tones, he declared that conservative forces, among whom Yu. Afanasyev cited above all the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, have launched a "massive offensive against the champions of radical transformations." He accused the CPSU as a whole of "having led the country nowhere" for 70 years and accused the CPSU Central Committee Politburo today of having no idea about "the so-called prestige of the party." Furthermore, according to the speaker, the CPSU, if it wants to acquire prestige, must put forward a program that would win the population's support, and it must also...immediately close down the newspaper PRAVDA which, according to his belief, "is lying and misinforming Soviet society."

The aim of the conference, as announced earlier, is to consolidate the forces favoring a radical perestroyka of our society. But did the main report serve this aim? Is ignoring reality, and in particular the fact that the CPSU has already put forward a perestroyka program which has won the support of the majority of the people, really the best method of historical analysis?

As for the attacks launched by the historian and USSR people's deputy against our newspaper, we will leave them to his conscience. His report is just one opinion. Other viewpoints differing diametrically from the views of the main speaker have already been expressed at the session. The conference is intended to last 3 days. We will report its results to readers, unless, that is, in the meantime Yu. Afanasyev succeeds in getting our newspaper "closed down."

Readers Criticize Party, Demand Reform

PM1709190089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Tatyana Samolis under the rubric "Readers About Perestroyka in the Party": "You Cannot Institute Prestige by Decree"]

[Text] Something that hardly anyone expected at the beginning of perestroyka has happened—the party has come under the fire of serious criticism. That same party which in April 1985, through its leadership, called for decisive changes, democratization, and glasnost. Since for decades it had invariably been regarded as the only leading and guiding force, it is now being blamed more than anyone else for everything: for the goods shortages and the rising crime rate, for the poverty of pensioners, and for the high-handedness of those who wield power. There is much criticism from both nonparty people and Communists themselves. However, in the letters to PRAVDA on this topic it is impossible to overlook the fact that people want the party to regain genuine prestige and people's trust as quickly as possible. And so to the letters.

"Party! Pull yourself together and take a look around! It is time to act!" says a letter from A. Kolesnik of Minsk, a CPSU member since 1962. "Party, where is your strength, where is your conviction?! The country is slipping toward disintegration and you are merely saying that something ought to be done, yet you are doing nothing. The availability of goods, produce, and of everything that people need is constantly diminishing. And everyone just keeps talking and waiting for manna from heaven. Party, where are your actions? Where are your 20 million members, what are they waiting for? One is ashamed for the country, one feels sorry for it as a power. Take a look around and survey your ranks. Look where the main impediment lies. After all, it is plainly visible, it is the bureaucratic apparatus of administrations and departments. This is where the good and correct decisions of the CPSU Central Committee expire."

"Let us try to work out what we mean when we speak of the party and its prestige," writes D. Remizhenko from Kiev. "If we take the party as a whole, that is, the totality of its almost 20 million members, then the impression is not very favorable. This is because, despite the fact that there are many brilliant personalities among the party members, people with a heightened sense of duty and justice, the party as a whole has for more than 60 years now endorsed every action of its successive leaders with docile enthusiasm. It endorsed Stalin's bloody crimes, backed Khrushchev's voluntarist adventures, went into raptures over Brezhnev's talents as 'military leader' and 'man of letters,' and now, with equal enthusiasm, supports Gorbachev's perestroyka. It is true, of course, that even during the dark age of Stalinism and the period of Brezhnevite stagnation there were people who retained their human dignity and the courage to speak the truth. However, these were isolated individuals. Unfortunately, it was not they who determined the image and the policy of the party. And what is more, their fate was a tragic one."

Here are some more letters. M. Budilov, CPSU member since 1954, writes from Leningrad: "What is needed above all is a radical perestroyka of our 'helmsman'—the party. The faster and more radically it is implemented in the party's ranks from primary organizations to the Central Committee, the more guarantees we will have of truly fundamental changes in society and the state."

"Life itself has deprived the party of its former leading and guiding force, assigning it, sad though it may be, the role of a windbag, a doleful preacher of decrepit dogmas. M. Merkulyev, collective farm member, Orenburg Oblast."

I am not trying to claim, of course, that the cited excerpts from letters represent a faithful cross section of public opinion about our party. However, it is unquestionable that they reflect people's concern and hope. Concern at the current state of affairs within the ruling party and hope for its revival on a new and democratic basis. People have written to PRAVDA that the party will only succeed in really strengthening its prestige among the masses if it resolutely overcomes the striving of certain leaders to reduce perestroyka in the party's ranks merely to democratization of the style of work.

"I have lived for 61 years, and I have been promised the earth during this time, including communism," writes T. Gusikhin from Boksitogorsk in Leningrad Oblast. "I do not believe you either, Mikhail Sergeyevich! Pardon my sincere admission. But I have nothing to lose. Shoot me if you like."

People were indeed shot under Stalin for things like that, I think with horror, and under Brezhnev they were certified insane and packed off to an asylum. Today, fortunately, we are not afraid of speaking or listening to the bitter truth. Perestroyka is gradually ridding us of the fear that we will be punished for speaking out honestly. Anyone with any common sense can see that if our society is stagnating, our economy is in a state of crisis, and our ideology is hamstrung by dogmatism, then the ruling party bears the responsibility for this before the people. It was after all the party which crushed and supplanted people left, right, and center and punished or pardoned its members—and not only them—without trial or investigation. Where should the party's prestige come from today, if you will excuse the question? It had ceased to exist by April 1985. The awakening came later. We did not want to believe, we very much did not want to believe that the party too carried within itself the terrible mechanism of the administrative-edict system, that it was part of this system. Worse still, it itself had created this mechanism and then fell victim to it—created it by Stalin's hand, according to his will, or in some other way, it does not matter anymore today how it happened, but it does represent a lesson which must not be ignored. Therefore let us not be surprised at these sort of statements in people's letters.

"Soon it will be 25 years since I joined the ranks of the CPSU," G. Ovchinnikov, a doctor from Kuybyshev, Novosibirsk Oblast, writes. "I put down in my application that I wanted to be in the front ranks of the builders of communism. And I firmly believed this. I endorse perestroyka with my mind and with my heart and I support it to the best of my abilities. So why do I have such a heavy heart?

"Throughout the entire post-October history it was drilled into us that the leading and guiding role in society belongs only to the CPSU, that the CPSU is a vanguard made up of the most conscious workers and peasants. Yet in 70 years under the leadership of this vanguard, our vast country has reached...the brink of catastrophe. Yet all these years people have worked conscientiously, overcoming incredible difficulties and privations, actively building the foundations of first ordinary socialism and then developed socialism. They even entered this stage without noticing it. Then they were exhorted to build the material and technical base of communism, and they did. In return they were promised every comfort in the near future. The people are tired of these endless exhortations. And it is not surprising that they take a skeptical view of the CPSU and in particular of its leadership."

P. Petrov from Pushkino village in Moscow Oblast writes: "We Communists are to blame for our people's troubles. Living in the society which we have built is not easy. People do not have faith in us; even we ourselves have no faith in ourselves. We took heart when Mikhail Sergeyevich started perestroyka, but now it is plain that the forces of stagnation are still strong, they are preventing people from getting on with perstroyka in peace, they are stifling everything living."

We often say: It is necessary to fight for perestroyka. Fight with whom? With bureaucrats, conservatives, Stalinists... But not only with them. The forces which stifle "everything living" exist in the party too... Nonparty readers of PRAVDA rightly note: Comrades, put your party house in order as quickly as possible, embark on a radical perestroyka, and perhaps even a reform in the party itself.

There are many complaints in the mail against the party apparatus. It seems that in this component above all a surgical intervention is necessary since the cosmetic operations have only changed the titles of party committee departments and... produced precious little else.

"In the course of the debates about the role and the place of the party at the current stage, not enough attention is paid, in my opinion, to the fact that, both among fighters for perestroyka and among the forces which seek to thwart it, there are people who belong to the same Communist Party," writes N. Gubanov of Odessa, CPSU member since 1957. "And this is now affecting the party itself and its prestige among the people. And I see two more closely interconnected reasons for the party's lag. First, it is the fact that the work of Communists is assessed...by Communists themselves. Cases where party committee leaders are replaced under pressure from the masses are instances which reflect a crisis situation, yet the assessment should be constant and businesslike. The second reason is the presence of a cumbersome party apparatus. After all, once there is an apparatus it has to occupy itself somehow. Whatever the case, this work will take the shape of 'measures,' and that includes work 'at grassroots level,' 'among the masses,' which means mainly words and paperwork.

"Decisions, resolutions, slogans, and appeals have long been totally unproductive (indeed, are sometimes confusing) since the plethora of them is not backed up by action. So I believe that it is necessary not to restructure the work of party committees at the local level but to go further—transform them in a profound and revolutionary fashion. All Communists must work in labor collectives (I am talking about all spheres of life). The most capable and enterprising of them should be elected by the people to organs of Soviet power and to commanding posts in the economy and elsewhere. In order to conduct internal party work primary and local party organizations should maintain a minimal apparatus. The party Central Committee and its leaders should formulate the party's strategy on the basis of scientific research.

"And elections at all levels must be direct and preferably offer a choice of candidates.

"All Communists are called upon to prove the correctness of the party's ideas primarily by their actions instead of putting (as many Communists, especially apparatchiks, do) spokes in the wheels of perestroyka out of fear of losing their cozy niche."

"It is painful to hear and read that the Communist Party is lagging behind perestroyka. You often see it said in the press that senior party officials are virtually retarding its cause and acting in a patently contradictory manner. Isn't this at the root of all the troubles that have befallen our society?" remarks Muscovite A. Anosova, who sent a letter to the editorial office marked "Reader's advice." "The entire party cannot be blamed, but its apparatus has indeed become bureaucratic and has lost touch with the people and with rank-and-file Communists. If the 19th All-Union Party Conference had not sounded the alarm about the impending catastrophe in society, I think the party vanguard would have simply lived for itself. I would not advise the party to hide behind Stalinism. It must answer for today's actions, including passiveness in perestroyka."

Further letters about the party apparatus could also be quoted, but unfortunately their quantity does not translate into a positive quality of assessment. Let's consider the following point: Why do people, to put it mildly, dislike the apparatus although they often turn to it for assistance? Is it that all apparatchiks are people who have usurped power? Is it that, though their origins are among the people, they have all suddenly lost touch with them? Clearly, the reasons should be sought more deeply—within the system for the selection of cadres and the degeneration of some of them.

A refrain running through many letters is the thought that no one will extricate the party from the "state of siege" except Communists themselves. No one is going to suddenly present it with the people's trust one fine day—Communists themselves must earn that trust. How? That is a very complex question. Some letters contain the catchphrase of the Communist's vanguard role. To be honest, I find it difficult to translate it into practical terms because this role depends on whether the Communist is able to perform it.

Readers declare: The Communist is often lacking that ability. The party champions individual freedom and the emancipation of man within society—and that same party, without noticing it, does not allow the free individual to emerge even within its own party house. Rank and file party members, the "grass roots," essentially have no rights in the party. And what about the notorious label "politically immature"! Just you try to prove that it is not the case if the "upper echelons" have used the label. The party needs to rid itself of this—that is the conclusion drawn by readers.

"We often hear calls for the democratization of party life, but what specific form this should take remains unclear," the aforementioned D. Remizhenko of Kiev remarks. "The proposals essentially boil down to ensuring that the personnel of higher party organs do not lose touch with the masses, visit grassroots organizations more often, listen to the opinions of rank and file Communists, and take them into account when adopting decisions. In my view, democratization must presuppose a cardinal revision of relations between the 'upper echelons' and the 'grass roots,' above all, a revision of the system of elections.

"The system in the party today is extremely undemocratic. We do not directly elect even primary party organization secretaries. First we elect the party bureau, and then the bureau elects the secretary. At the same time we elect two or three delegates to the rayon party conference. At this point rank and file party members cease to play an active role in electing superior party organs, and so the people who are elected tend to look more to the 'upper echelons' which gave their blessing to them."

While demanding that the party member be in the vanguard, the apparatus has at the same time effectively made him a silent executant. Here is what readers say about this, in particular Doctor M. Abdulkhabirov of Moscow:

"In 24 years of party life I have never once been allowed to elect a party city committee secretary, an oblast committee secretary, or a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Never once! Their political career has never been in my hands. Not once have I been entrusted with speaking at a rayon or city party conference. On the other hand I have often made critical and constructive remarks at party meetings, but nothing has ever changed or ever changes as a result of this.

"In 24 years of party life secretaries of the rayon committee, city committee, oblast committee, or CPSU Central Committee have never once come to my party organization for a comradely conversation and asked: 'How are you getting on? How should we live and work? Let's put our heads together about our life.' There are too many monologues and annoyingly few dialogues in our party."

The letters to PRAVDA argue. They are ardent, trenchant letters. People argue their case and discuss the most perturbing questions, including the development of democracy and glasnost, the possibility of a multiparty system, and, once again, democratic centralism.

Many letter writers bring PRAVDA itself into the discussion about the party's prestige. There are many complaints about us in the editorial office. And they are serious food for thought.

"You ought to write at greater length, more extensively, and more profoundly about the processes taking place within the party itself," Communist A. Vorflik of Zheltyye Vody in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast believes. "Why has stagnation in the party still not been overcome? How do the CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo work? There are loads of rumors about confrontation 'at the top'—is this true? There are few articles about glasnost and democratization within the party itself. Honest, trenchant, attention-grabbing pieces answering urgent questions about the party's prestige and its role in society are also a rarity as yet."

Readers suggest how PRAVDA could help the party. One way, they believe, would be to more often give a platform to people who work "at the top." Effectively, letterwriters remark, we are familiar with the views of A. Sakharov, B. Yeltsin, G. Popov, and Yu. Afanasyev but we have no clear idea what members of the Central Committee, Central Committee secretaries, and members of the Politburo think about the most urgent problems of perestroyka.

Incidentally, we at PRAVDA also know little about this.

Readers advise us to shun cliches on the party theme, the primitivism that eats into newspaper pages like rust, and trite, repellently insincere or hypocritical vocabulary. For instance, A. Belonogov of Kaluga writes: "Once again the newspaper is falling all over itself to write that the party is the initiator of perestroyka and to present this as a tremendous service of the party. But people say otherwise: 'If the party had organized everything competently from the outset, there would have been no need for perestroyka.'"

There are many letters about official material—the numerous resolutions and decisions, meetings, receptions, departures and arrivals. PRAVDA's readers are not very keen on all this.

What you notice when you read the mail is this: There is no malevolence, there is no dubious rejoicing that the party today finds itself in a difficult position. There is concern. And there is the hope of great changes.

We will not be afraid of difficulties. We will not close our eyes to the fact that they exist. You cannot institute prestige by decree. You cannot retain it by force. "The party's prestige will emerge, increase, and be high when, and only when, the people say: 'Yes, we cannot manage without this party. It is the only force at the present stage.'"

With these words from the letter of Muscovite N. Bocharov, I would like to conclude the review of readers' letters.

Liberal, Conservative Editors Interviewed

PM1409144989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interviews with Vitaliy Korotich, chief editor of OGONEK, and Anatoliy Ivanov, chief editor of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, by V. Sinenko under the "Journalists and Our Times" rubric, accompanied by commentary from Press and Current Affairs Department; dates and places of interviews not specified]

[Text] Our society is now living in a fundamentally new ideological situation. The until recently seemingly harmful concept of socialist pluralism of opinions is becoming part of the practical activity of the mass media and is occupying its proper place. The customary unanimity in the press has ceased to be. Newspapers and journals conduct debates and defend their own views now. The debates are sometimes fierce. The journals OGONEK and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA are at opposite poles of the polemic. These publications have both supporters and opponents. The conversations between our Press and Current Affairs Department commentator and the chief editors of the two magazines were based on the most incisive and interesting letters sent by readers to PRAVDA.

OGONEK Chief Editor Vitaliy Korotich: I Am on the Reader's Side

[Sinenko] Vitaliy Alekseyevich, in the past 3 years OGONEK's circulation has more than doubled and now exceeds 3 million. The journal has become popular. However, some are of the opinion that that you are taking the easy path, that your policy is based on sensationalism and lurid negative facts and that, in trying to attract readers, you do not anticipate the consequences of an item but employ the principle: the more shocking the better.

[Korotich] For decades a very distinctive attitude to journalism and the rights and potential of the press was inculcated in our people. A bland one, maybe. And now, I think, we are feeling the effect of that. Our magazine has written about the Moscow trade mafia, psychiatric clinics, Churbanov, bullying in the army, and so forth. Is this sensationalism? The problem is that the range of topics that we cover, I would say, mirrors the state of our society. And the fact that they are sometimes shocking is not our fault. Such items interest people, silence on these topics alarms them.

We receive hundreds of letters expressing gratitude and the wish that we keep up the pace. Incidentally, at the beginning of 1986 we received no more than 20 letters a day whereas now we receive between 600 and 800. But the surprising thing is this: The only ones who write to us are those who support OGONEK in its present form. Those who disagree about something write to other publications and various high-level authorities. Inquiries are carried out and commissions set up on a large number of the magazine's publications. It is to our credit, I would say, that, despite constant battles against those who disagree with us, we have had to issue only two or three apologies in the past few years. OGONEK now ranks beside other popular publications in the range of Soviet people's reading matter and that, it seems to me, confirms that our chosen path is correct.

[Sinenko] Nevertheless, some letters emphasize that by presenting undiluted criticism in every issue you involuntarily promote distortions in readers' consciousness and create a negative attitude to reality and to the society in which we live. Some letterwriters believe that you are more destructive than creative.

[Korotich] I apologize for making this comparison but, as editor of a magazine in Soviet society, which is undergoing transformation, I am supposed to be a watchdog not a lapdog. I do not extol evil. I try to prevent it from gaining a hold. It seems to me that most people are under the illusion that you only have to plug the radio into the refrigerator for us all to be well fed and content. The country's prestige is determined by how it feeds and clothes its citizens and not by the feelings of journalists. You have to show how a miner washes himself after work at the pit face when there is a shortage of soap and not show him well groomed and in a white shirt eating from a golden plate. You have to tell the truth, not to be afraid of it.

As for the second part of the question, I would say that I cannot imagine that in the present welter of newspapers and magazines people read nothing but OGONEK and grit their teeth at the sight of some dismal picture opening up before them. We have enough publications of various types with differing reports and the concentration of negative material in the press will never reach a critical destructive point in its influence on the public's consciousness. Especially since the people's faith in their own press is less than total.

[Sinenko] Your magazine has a definite interest in historical themes. Once again you emphasize the negative to the maximum. In this regard readers' letters criticize the fact that you have reduced the difficult era of the thirties and forties to the personality cult and repressions. The magazine presents the Soviet state's history as uniformly black. History isn't high fiction. Isn't there a clash between journalism and historical truth in your magazine? Doesn't your magazine go to the other extreme—from unrestrained emotion to total negation?

[Korotich] This is one of our most sensitive issues. It is at the basis of all our polemics in the press and at public meetings with MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, NASH SOVREMENNIK, and MOSKVA. I would go further and say that I have had to endure quite a lot of personal abuse for this reason. I cannot tolerate a patriotism whipped up to the point of hysteria or a situation in which opposing sides take a simplistic path and reduce everything to the nationalities question. Incidentally, my mother was from the Russian nobility while my father was a Ukrainian peasant. I loathe all chauvinism. This is a subject for deep reflection, not for provocative slogans about Russophobia, Zionism, anti-Semitism, anti-Turkish feeling, and so forth.

Indeed, history is not one-dimensional. There have been many great episodes in our state's history. We took pride in and paid due tribute to the flights of Chkalov, our space achievements, and the fantastic leap forward by our industry. But when we viewed the end result we forgot more often than not about the way and means whereby it was all achieved. We are ashamed to say aloud that Tupolev and Korolev ate gruel in Beria's prison cells, that the White Sea Canal was built on the bones of convicts, or that the Russian peasant experienced all the "delights" of serfdom while working for industry. The people paid too high a price for many successes and achievements. Now society is being restructured. We cannot allow the big stick to again become the means of organizing people or the picture of life to be one-dimensional and trite. When we talk about the past we thereby recreate a complex and contradictory picture and warn society against repeating tragic mistakes.

[Sinenko] That principle presumes a mature, educated reader capable of drawing comparisons and of agreeing with some things while rejecting others. But what about those who are only just starting out in life? A distorted view of their fathers and of the life of two generations as nothing but victims of circumstance creates an artificial sense of loss and a completely unjustified one, furthermore. That is what many letterwriters claim.

[Korotich] True patriotism is rarely produced by banner-waving journalism. We were raised on myths, but now it is important to take an open and honest view of society and to soberly assess the path traveled by the state without rehashing the eulogies of the past—we have had enough of them. As for one-sided influence on the minds of the rising generation, I would emphasize once more that OGONEK's role should not be exaggerated. Remember what Mayakovskiy said: "First remake life and when that is done you can celebrate..." Ours isn't a history textbook, an encyclopedia, or a scientific publication but a sociopolitical magazine—one of many in a spate of press products. The information which we offer to the reader has so far enjoyed great demand, if I may put it that way. People were interested in previously concealed facts about Stalin and his entourage, the scale of the repressions, and Beria's camps. The dearth of such materials is over now. We feel that and are taking a step forward: from providing purely factual accounts to considering the mechanism of the anti-people dictatorship. So long as a return to the old days is possible, at least in theory, it is too soon for that theme to end.

[Sinenko] But are journalists not too obsessed with exposing the past, with the result that they overlook our present difficulties and problems? Perestroyka got off to a rapid start but has ground to a halt at some levels. You will agree that at a time of a collective quest for ways out of the many dead ends it is not enough just to engage in name-calling. What we need most are constructive ideas, suggestions, and a view of the future. Many of the readers' letters which we receive emphasize that point in particular.

[Korotich] I would say that our past and present are indivisible. In this regard we too are a concrete product of our times. It is not some malicious design but the level of the masses' thinking and the shortage of authors which prevent us from publishing readymade prescriptions on how to live in the future. Indeed, it isn't ready-made prescriptions that are needed but thought. Furthermore, you only have to ask and immediately interesting, profound, and keenly critical materials will appear in the editorial office on how we acted incorrectly in the past in the economy, for example. But as for the correct and realistic path out of the crisis—that is still a problem for discussion.

We are taking part in the economists' professional debate to the extent that our abilities and position permit. But! We are not the Council of Ministers. We have other functions. We suggest solutions, we do not make decisions. And if you believe that in present conditions everyone must do his own job honestly, our task is to produce an interesting and readable magazine which people will favor with their money and their spare time. It is our problem, though not our fault, that at the moment there aren't enough positive, profound, or constructive publications. That is to do with the standard of life in society and not the magazine. Despite this shortage, we are not going to fill our pages with rubbish.

[Sinenko] But isn't there an flip side to this catering to demand? People complain about OGONEK that it has become the champion of spiritual aridity and an apologist of mass culture. When actively publicizing various trends in so-called avant-garde art both past and present and carefully marking the memorable dates of representatives of the avant-garde, you forgot about the great Russian composer Modest Petrovich Musorgskiy, for instance, whose 150th anniversary is being marked worldwide by a UNESCO decision. I imagine that at the time of the jubilee of Yevgeniy Nesterenko, the outstanding world-renowned modern opera singer who was deservedly awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor, many of his admirers looked forward to the next issue of your magazine with special interest. But what happened? Not a word about Nesterenko, instead you published a large feature on a fashionable popular singer with a fine full-page picture of her.

[Korotich] You know, I don't like rock music. But my sons love it. I tried to win them over to my way of thinking. I failed. My aggression on this question foundered against their incomprehension and stubborn protest. But I have never forbidden them to listen to what they want. I did get them to turn the sound down when I asked them to, but I didn't want anything more than that. Is it right to ban things or pretend that they do not exist? Showing the best examples of the avant-garde or conducting a professional discussion on this topic—is that too much? But...it's true, we did forget Musorgskiy and Nesterenko, great though they are in their different way. And it isn't even a question of their anniversaries. We are changing many things now in our discussion of art and are seeking new approaches. That is why the old arts department was recently disbanded, we are looking for new authors, we shall find new staffers and try to be more thorough in our work. The situation in the literature department is worrying too. Although I would like to say that we are less cliquish than some other publications.

[Sinenko] How shall I put this? Many readers think otherwise and doubt the possibility of pluralism in OGONEK. They are certain that there is a circle of authors who have guaranteed access to your pages.

[Korotich] Valentin Rasputin, Vasiliy Belov, Viktor Astafyev, and Yuriy Bondarev belong to that circle of authors presumably? Well, we would be very happy to see those writers in the magazine expressing their viewpoint on the processes taking place in society. Despite the mutual criticism, I consider it necessary to invite them to collaborate with us all the time. The only thing is—they don't want to.

In our magazine now we are refusing to engage in literary polemic in the form in which it has existed to date, which sometimes turns from a polemic into squabbling. Although I am sure that this will not remove the problem. There is another objective factor which greatly influences the situation. It is bound up with the tragic consequences of the war and of 1937. In the Writers' Union we were left without senior figures, patriarchs, or true intellectuals capable of ending the feuding wisely, with authority, and a certain strictness. The whole burden of leadership was assumed by the 60- to 70-year-olds beaten down by the war and life, who were exasperated and had lost their faith in some things. My idea is well confirmed by the example of the Moscow Arts Theater. The old men left and many things collapsed. Time is the healer.

But in my view there is another principle which divides the intelligentsia. Namely, the great plethora of creative unions. We are broken down into subsections. Furthermore, the writer is not allowed into the Composers' Union, the artists aren't allowed to join the journalists, the actors can't join the writers, and so forth. Yet we do many things together. Meanwhile the unions live separate lives often in a musty atmosphere. Shouldn't these barriers be broken down? Shouldn't we create a single union of the artistic intelligentsia. And consider the common cause together. Then, I think, we will also begin criticizing each other differently.

[Sinenko] One last question. It was put to you, Vitaliy Alekseyevich, by Anatoliy Ivanov, chief editor of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, during my talk with him. He asked: "How is the slogan 'Now or Never. Is Perestroyka Our Last Chance?,' a slogan repeated on numerous occasions in OGONEK, to be understood?

Does this declaration not call into question the objective laws of dialectics, which hold that life is an eternal struggle between the new and the old, the progressive and the regressive, the revolutionary and the conservative?"

[Korotich] I believe that if the conservative and antidemocratic forces triumph now that will destroy people's faith in the renewal of our society for a long time, perhaps forever. But renewal is essential. I am afraid that if we lose we will forfeit the people's trust in the potential of our structure and system forever. People have grown tired of waiting, which is why I consider the phrase "Now or never!" to be legitimate. And "now" means the nineties.

MOLODAYA GVARDIYA Chief Editor Anatoliy Ivanov: Following the Truth

[Sinenko] Anatoliy Stepanovich, your magazine is distinguished by its firm stance and maintenance of a clear line, irrespective of the change of "eras" and chief editors. But in the period of perestroyka our society has found the strength to look at itself afresh and rethink many things. In this context some readers' letters contain the reproach that you are in no hurry to change and you reject certain opinions which are now popular. Does the magazine not run the risk of lagging behind life in the new ideological situation?

[Ivanov] We are not afraid of lagging behind life, because we have adopted and continue to adopt a position of defending the people's hard-won ideals. We seek to foster in our readers a love of their native land and multinational homeland and lofty feelings of civic spirit and patriotism—in short, that which certain of our critics today find unpopular.

We oppose distortion of our country's history. The majority of our readers are young, their historical awareness and thinking are only just forming. And we want young people to see in the actions of their fathers not just mistakes but also the great things that they have been bequeathed so that they can be maintained and augmented. We favor propagating the best examples of Western culture rather than a surrogate. Let rock music be performed for fans. But it should not smother all the rest. Incidentally, it has now become bad form to speak unfavorably of rock, although quite the reverse was the case until quite recently. Short-term considerations, the need of the moment, and life are different notions. One can sedulously follow demand and immediate advantage but simultaneously lag behind life and distort or fail to perceive it at all.

[Sinenko] Stalinism remains one of the keenest topics concerning our past in the press. You are accused, and from the pages of a number of publications, of whitewashing this tragic episode in our history and the personality of Stalin himself.

[Ivanov] We flatly reject such reproaches. Stalin was a man, and so-called Stalinism represents a highly complex, dramatic, and tragic phenomenon in our history bound up with the birth of socialism. It was a time of wars to achieve independence and freedom for the country and its peoples.

We have never whitewashed or embellished Stalin as a man or politician. We have sought and continue to seek to give an objective portrait of this man who led our party and state for 30 years.

It is, of course, simplest of all to erase the era and breezily ascribe all the misfortunes and sufferings of the people, all the mistakes in building socialism, and all the shortcomings created in our sociopolitical and state system to pathological flaws within Stalin, as some of our colleagues often do. But the truth is—and this was said in the report delivered at the ceremonial session held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution—that Stalin's personality was extremely contradictory. "Maintaining a position of historical truth"—I am quoting—"we should should see both Stalin's incontrovertible contribution to the struggle for socialism and the defense of its gains and the gross political mistakes committed and tyranny exercised by him and his immediate entourage, for which our people have paid a great price and which have had grave consequences for the life of our society... The guilt borne by Stalin and his immediate entourage before the party and the people for the mass repressions and lawlessness are enormous and unforgivable. This serves as a lesson for all generations."

We give our readers this truth in its totality. Yes, others, including his immediate entourage and opponents—Trotskiy, Kamenev, Zinovyev, Bukharin, Kaganovich, Mekhlis, Yagoda, Beria, Yezhov, and Yakovlev and many, many others—are equally responsible with Stalin. It is they who were the theoreticians of the mass repressions and their practitioners. All this was not known at the time, yet Trotskiy, as chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the republic, executed without investigation or trial tens and tens of thousands of military men—this has been proved now by much research. Other figures accounted for many victims too.

Does such an interpretation really in any way whitewash Stalinism?

[Sinenko] Anatoliy Stepanovich, some letters accuse MOLODAYA GVARDIYA of nationalism, chauvinism, and anti-Semitism. What can you say about that?

[Ivanov] This fashion of name-calling is of long standing. You only have to mention patriotism in your native land in the magazine to become immediately a nationalist. Touch on the theme of the honor and dignity of the Russian nation and you are immediately represented to the public as a chauvinist. And if you criticize shortcomings in the work of an author of Jewish descent, then you must be an anti-Semite, no less.

When we cited data in an article that appeared in our sixth issue regarding the standard of education of different nations, we were immediately dubbed nationalists and even extreme reactionaries. Why?

Sometimes we ask ourselves whether all information is open under glasnost and democracy. Is one-sided glasnost really acceptable? Since such an approach can, in my opinion, lead precisely to dictatorship and all that stems from it.

One must ponder the historical lessons and facts, not engage in name-calling, since the disproportions in nations' development offend against the dignity of the peoples and create grievances. And we are all seeking the causes of interethnic conflicts.

I think that some people, in pinning the label of "anti-Semite" on others and frightening them, are seeking to protect themselves from just criticism, establishing their own exemption on this score. This is, in particular, an old and proven weapon of Zionism—one of the world's most reactionary antisocialist forces.

Your newspaper carried on 9 August a TASS report that the constituent assembly had been held in Moscow of a sociopolitical organization called the "Union of Zionists," an organization whose mission consists of a "powerful orientation toward Israel..., the ideology of religious Zionism." One of the initiators plans that this organization, which includes militant groups, should become the vehicle for the "Zionization" of the Jewish population of the USSR. Nothing less than that. And in this regard the following provision in the CPSU Platform on the Nationalities Question in Present-Day Conditions that has been submitted for nationwide discussion is very encouraging: "The full truth, not distorted truth about the real processes of the development of interethnic relations in the USSR is required...no blanks should remain here"...

[Sinenko] Observing newspaper and magazine polemics, readers might think that some publications do not listen to one another and are pulling in opposite directions. Is there not the danger that the disputes conducted in the publications may not turn into a protracted and taxing "civil war" for both sides? Does MOLODAYA GVARDIYA always show sufficient restraint and tact, given the exacerbated relations that exist? Can the feuds be brought to an end?

[Ivanov] A revolution is under way in society. And this always means overwrought and exaggerated emotions, and we should undoubtedly learn to be calmer. But you tell me what tone we should adopt when some poet who quit his homeland calls Russia a bitch, some prose writer flourishing abroad declares the great poet, Pushkin, to be a vulgarian and nonentity, and someone else denigrates the Soviet soldiers who saved the world from fascism. I do not understand why it is that some publications and television afford the widest platform to such "literati" when they visit the Soviet Union. For defaming and blatantly insulting my people? Suppose they they were to try to describe some other country, say, the United States, a "bitch of a country"! What would happen then?!

I fail to understand why the phrase "party leadership of the press" is virtually never printed today. The press is a mighty force and in certain conditions is capable of splitting and disorganizing society rather than cementing it, even leading it astray and playing into the hands of reactionaries. And M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, recognizes this. "You say," he said at meeting with working people at the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Association in Leningrad, "that glasnost and democracy are sometimes exploited for completely wrong ends that are not in the interests of socialism and the people. That is the case!" And given that it is the case, these very grave defects of democratization must be combated in a purposeful manner.

[Sinenko] Do you put your trust in a "firm hand"?

[Ivanov] I don't want any kind of "firm hand." I know what that means, and I am fed up to the teeth with eulogies to a "firm hand." When I say "combat in a purposeful manner," I do not mean the use of the courts, as certain people threaten, nor the use of members of paramilitary detachments, but democratic methods. First, what is needed here is further extension of glasnost and for both journalists and the public to be better informed. Otherwise, any stupid idea can be picked up by people and then serve as a guiding light for a while. Second, we need a more precise and prompt definition of the ruling party's stance on not just strategic questions but also on the acute situations that arise in the life of society almost daily. The periodic meetings between the party leader and the leaders of the mass media do not change the situation. They are red-letter days, as it were. In our workaday lives, however, intoxicated by the foreign word "pluralism," we become like the swan, the crab, and the pike in Krylov's fable. And will we be able to make any progress if, like them, we pull our heavy burden in opposite directions?

I'll say once again: I have not missed the instructor roaring valuable orders down the telephone or the hours-long, directive-issuing conferences. But every Communist should know the position of his own headquarters, be in control of the situation, and base his actions on that. This could take the form, for example, of weekly television addresses by Politburo members assessing the present moment, not a general assessment but a specific, in-depth, objective analysis of the week's events and exposition of the tactics behind their actions. There could be other prompt means of communicating with the masses. It is no accident, however, that the words "revolution" and "perestroyka" are considered synonymous.

[Sinenko] Anatoliy Stepanovich, readers would like to know how your literary hero and party rayon committee secretary Polikarp Kruzhilin, who is known to many through the book and movie "The Eternal Call," would fit into today's situation?

[Ivanov] My hero would now be getting on in years. But I think that he would accept perestroyka. He did not cut himself off from the people, he felt their concerns and misfortunes, he went through a lot, experienced a great deal. But what I am certain about is that he would never abandon the ideals of his youth.

And, incidentally, one of our misfortunes now is that we seek to ignore such people as Kruzhilin, and yet there are many of them—staunch, convinced Communists. They will ultimately determine the victory of our perestroyka.

[Sinenko] But will you now answer, please, this question put by OGONEK's editor, Vitaliy Korotich" "Does Anatoliy Ivanov see the future of a Soviet Union built on the principles he proclaims?"

[Ivanov] And how do my principles hamper the development of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of socialism? It is impossible to build on a reckless and feverish destruction of the past as a whole any sensible society or a life that is fair or simply even acceptable to people in the slightest degree. We have razed much to the ground in the 70 years since the October Revolution. And where have we landed up?

We need to adopt all the people's positive experience and hard-won human ideals but eschew everything that is decrepit and obsolete and has been discredited by life and time. We were taught this by Lenin. We need to adopt and build a renewed and profoundly democratic socialism.

Yes, our society has not thus far been able to realize many of socialism's lofty qualities. But I regard this as the drama of socialism rather than its tragedy.

We quite often nowadays succumb to the ecstasy of self-flagellation. Some people turn with a sense of guilt to the West, look across the ocean, saying: Please excuse us foolish folk, we promise to improve.

But there is no need to feel guilty in the face of capitalism (there have been so many follies committed and so much blood spilled in certain countries there), there is no need to seek assistance in our misfortune from foreign Sovietologists, rather we should rely upon our own people's great sense, hard work, and moral values.

I believe in a prosperous future for the Soviet Union, particularly if we do not forget that we have our own hard-won political and social system and we do not go all out to try to fit a Mercedes engine to a Belaz 100-tonne truck while it is still making its way up a potholed road. After all, "All Power to the Soviets!" is not a borrowed slogan.

Commentary by the Press and Current Affairs Department

It is well known that there is no such thing as impersonal journalism. And any journalist or editor engaged in social relations is bound up in the most varied ways with particular social strata, organizations, and groups and their interests and attitudes. This wholly applies to the organs of the press. So polemics in a newspaper or magazine are not conducted for their own sake but spring from life.

Readers will scarcely benefit if OGONEK and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA become alike. But perestroyka will scarcely benefit if publications cater in every respect for their admirers and supporters, disregarding opponents' opinions. By getting involved and influencing people's awareness and public opinion, the mass media are at the cutting edge of perestroyka. We can all see that the processes taking place in the country are extremely complex, and their coverage requires not just vital energy and creative enthusiasm but also civic responsibility, objectivity, a scientific approach, and the ability to see beyond immediate interests. The printed word, particularly nowadays, is turning into a powerful material force. And all the more responsibility therefore lies upon the shoulders of journalists and above all Communist journalists. All press organs must measure their every step more carefully to ensure that they are working in unison for the motherland's good.

Tajik Language Law Provision Sparks 'Exodus'

PM1509185789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Report under general heading: "Direct Link: Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter"]

[Text]

Aleksandr Karpov Reports From Dushanbe: Migration Swells

Migration is up on normal in Tajikistan. For instance, around 10,000 people of nonindigenous origin left Dushanbe during the first half of the current year alone. The migration "loss" totals more than 3,000 people. Almost one-third of them are specialists with higher education and many are highly skilled workers from various trades. The drain of specialists from production collectives has already had a negative impact on the performance of certain enterprises. At the "Tadzhiktekstilmash" plant, for instance, 534 people chose to leave during the first 7 months of the year. After allowing for new arrivals, the plant is still 108 workers short. This is one of the reasons for the failure to fulfill the plan in August. The exodus of specialists and workers is also noticeable in construction organizations.

Those who are leaving are citing as their main reason the law passed by the latest session of the republic Supreme Soviet, which gives Tajik the status of a state language. Regardless of the fact that the measures elaborated by the Tajik Government to implement this act are calculated to span a relatively long period, right through the year 2000, many people are not confident that it will be possible to live and work normally in conditions of the virtually universal use of the Tajik language. People are afraid that the events now taking place in the Baltic republics and Moldavia may repeat themselves here, and they do not want to be involved in them.

Komi Leader Encourages Language Study

LD1709165489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 17 September broadcasts an interview by Syvtyvkar correspondent Yevgeniy Zubarev with (Yuriy Ivanovich Simukov), chairman of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, ASSR, Supreme Soviet Presidium and member of the Komi Oblast Party committee Bureau, who says that a commission has been established to draw up a program on ethnic issues and that a scientific and methodological conference on the problems and functioning of the Komi language in modern conditions has been held. Many people of Komi origin have forgotten their mother tongue, says (Simukov). He goes on to say that groups are being established in kindergartens and schools to study the language and that faculties have been established in the pedagogical institute; financial incentives are being given to those who choose to study there.

According to the last census, about 50,000 Komis live outside of the Komi ASSR territory; it is hoped that contacts with these people will be established. Asked whether a Komi national cultural center will be set up in Moscow, (Simukov) says that first of all a Komi ASSR mission should be opened in Moscow, where current economic issues and issues of relations with the union ministries and departments can be resolved.

Consideration of Kurdish Autonomous Region Urged

LD1409211189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Fedorov video report, "Problems of Our Federation"]

[Excerpts] Events form the core of our news program. But what is an event? [video shows group of people sitting on carpets in the open, working and talking] Well, let's say (Sukhadin Kasymov) has become a candidate of sciences, (Telman Amirov) has been put in charge of a Kirghiz state farm, and (Ibragim Aliyev), the headmaster of a rural school in Kazakhstan, has been elected a member of the bureau of a rayon party committee. Things are different in different places, but here these are not everyday events, since our report is about the Kurds, a people scattered throughout nine of the country's republics, including Central Asia. [passage omitted] [video shows the group dancing] Is this not an event?

[S.A. Kasymov, laboratory head, Kirghiz Livestock Research Institute, identified by screen caption] Yes, we would seem to have the same rights as all the other peoples, but we do not have our own national schools, technical colleges, higher educational establishments or theaters. The nation's gene pool is on the verge of disappearing. The national culture is being lost. The Kurdish dialect is being forgotten. Soviet Kurds do not have their own republic. They have no representatives in the supreme organ of power. There is no one to raise or defend our rights. At the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the nationalities question was given a loud airing. We call on the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on nationalities, and on the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, to set up a commission to resolve the Kurdish issue, and to restore our autonomy.

[Fedorov] A few brief historical facts. In the 19th century, in accordance with the well-known Treaty of Turkmanchai, a part of the land where Iraq, Iran, and Turkey meet, which had been settled by Kurds, was ceded to Russia. In 1923, Lenin decreed that a Kurdish autonomous entity should be founded on the territory of Azerbaijan. In 1937, the Kurds shared the fate of many peoples repressed by Stalin's regime. Precise information about the number of Kurds in our country will be known after publication of the census results. The estimated figure is 1 million.

Revival of Volga German Republic Discussed

PM1409151589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Roundup of readers' letters and interviews with V. Medikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities special commission on the problems of Soviet Germans, and G. Grout, chairman of the "Rebirth" Society of Soviet Germans, by TASS correspondent V. Yakovlev under the rubric "Interview at Readers' Request: "German Autonomy"]

[Text] "Esteemed Comrades! SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in practice is solving many problems of perestroyka, in particular, it played a considerable role in stopping work on the project to divert northern rivers to the southern republics, and I, an old woman, thank you for this. Now I am concerned about the fate of the Volga Germans. Why have these poor people been living for so many years far from their birthplace? If the Germans want to return to the Volga, why can't they do this?" Margarita Dmitriyevna Vinogradova from Yaroslavl asks. There have been many letters in the editorial mailbag which have touched on this question.

"All measures should be taken to solve the problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans..." This is what is enshrined in the draft CPSU platform on nationalities policy. This thesis provoked a lively reaction among readers.

The thoughts and expectations of many Soviet Germans are expressed in a letter from Ya. Batt, K.K. Bakh, A.K. Yekkel, A.Z. Zauer and other comrades who are citizens of German nationality from the city of Pallasovka in Volgograd Oblast.

Reader T.V. Aleshina from the city of Marks proposes studying the public opinion of the Volga population on this problem. G.Ch. Borisova (Gorno-Altaysk), Yu.P. Prima (Volgograd), A.F. Kopanev, invalid of the Great Patriotic War (Kotov city in Volgograd Oblast), P.A. Mishchenko (Novosibirsk), and other readers expressed a similar viewpoint. The general opinion is that there is a problem and, of course, it needs to be solved.

As is known, this question was also raised at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. A USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities special commission on the problems of Soviet Germans was set up to study it. By order of the Congress a working group from this commission visited Saratov Oblast and spent 5 days there. Today we publish two interviews conducted by TASS correspondent V. Yakovlev at the request of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers in connection with the working group's visit to Saratov.

V. Medikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet special commission, who headed the working group of USSR people's deputies:

First, we decided to find out the attitude of city, rayon and oblast leaders to the question of the expediency of restoring German autonomy on the Volga. We visited the cities of Engels, Marks, Krasnoarmeysk, and the worker settlement of Rovnoye, we met with the working people and party and soviet aktivs. Almost half a century has passed since the republic of the Volga Germans ceased to exist in these places, and we were interested in the question: Will the present generation want to change its customary way of life, will it agree with a revival of autonomy?

It is still too early to draw specific conclusions: We shall draw inferences from the collected material and present it to the USSR Supreme Soviet commission. We intend to involve sociologists, economists, lawyers, historians, and other scholars in research work to analyze comprehensively and profoundly all aspects and options for the proposed decisions. In mid-October the entire USSR Supreme Soviet commission will work in Saratov and Volgograd Oblasts. We shall study in detail alternative opinions, meet with labor collectives and the population, involve local soviets in the work, and look for mutually acceptable solutions. Of course, we place great hope in the results of the broad discussion of the party platform on interethnic relations and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, which will examine this problem, in particular.

I shall repeat: We have not yet reached any specific proposals, but they will certainly emerge after we have studied public opinion and rehearsed the various options. Today there are still no clear proposals for setting up or not setting up German autonomy on the Volga—even among some local Germans whom we happened to meet recently. What do those people who live in Siberia and Kazakhstan think? This question has not really been studied either. Why decide vitally important problems for people without their participation? In my view, a referendum which should be conducted in all places inhabited by Soviet Germans could clarify many "must's" and "must not's," "why's" and "wherefore's'-'...

G. Grout, chairman of the recently set up "Rebirth" Society of Soviet Germans:

As expected, virtually everywhere we met with a lack of information about the essence of the national problem of the Soviet German people. The materials from the "Rebirth" Society's constituent conference on this matter, which we presented to the local party and soviet organs as far back as April, lay around on desks untouched.

We think that the way out of the situation which has taken shape is to carry out thorough explanatory work among the population. This could be done at "working meeting days," which used to be common practice at one time in the oblast, and at question and answer evenings, which are usually attended by the city and rayon leaders. The mass media could help us a great deal.

I think that objective public opinion will finally be formed after the appropriate mass work, and after a kind of political "campaign against illiteracy" in the places where Germans are concentrated. Each individual citizen will then be able to adopt a well-argued stance on the expediency of restoring German autonomy on the Volga.

Kulik Appointed Head of RSFSR Gosagroprom

PM1409154589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

["RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Appointment of G.V. Kulik as Chairman of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

Comrade Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kulik is appointed chairman of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Moscow, 3 August 1989

Grigoriy Romanov Denies Using Imperial Chinaware

PM1809153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p3

[Letter from G. Romanov, former first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee: "Letter to the Editor"]

[Text] Reports have appeared recently in some organs of the press, claiming that when I was first secretary of the

Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee I held a wedding in the Tavricheskiy Palace, using a unique imperial dinner service taken from the Hermitage.

Yes, that wedding did take place 15 years ago. It was held in a dacha in the settlement of Levashovo which was made available to me at the time. Incidentally, it was around that time that I handed the dacha over to be used as a children's preventive treatment unit. There were just 12 people (mainly relatives of the young couple) at the wedding dinner. And there were no imperial dinner services from the Hermitage.

PRAVDA has all the documents on this matter, including the findings of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet commission which made a special study of this question in August this year.

Lizichev Tours Transcaucasus Garrisons

PM1409143989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report: "Meetings in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has spent a few days in the Transcaucasus Military District. He acquainted himself with the situation among the district's troops and met with the leading staff of the Transcaucasus Military District, the party leadership of the Transcaucasian republics, commanders and chiefs of political organs, representatives of military commissariats and military departments of higher educational institutions, and officers, warrant officers, sergeants, and men of the Tbilisi, Yerevan, and Baku garrisons.

During numerous meetings with different categories of military servicemen it was stressed that the CPSU draft platform on the party's nationalities policy and the conclusions contained in the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics and in M.S. Gorbachev's address on Central Television are a realistic basis for seeking ways to resolve as quickly as possible the problems which have accumulated in the sphere of interethnic relations. And it is very important today to conduct ideological and political educational work in such a way as to ensure that every military serviceman understands the events taking place around him correctly, assesses them properly, and is clearly aware that the army was and remains a school of internationalism, patriotism, and high civic spirit. More than ever before the men in uniform need composure, tolerance, and respect for the culture, traditions, and customs of the fraternal republics' peoples. It is necessary to focus the efforts of commanders and political workers on educating all servicemen in the spirit of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and of loyalty to their constitutional duty.

Taking part with Army Gen A. Lizichev in the conversations with the party aktiv and personnel of the garrisons were Comrades G. Gumbaridze, S. Arutyunyan, and A. Vezirov, first secretaries of the Transcaucasian republics' Communist Party Central Committees. Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, and Lieutenant General A. Novikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Transcaucasus Military District Political Directorate, were present at the meetings.

Baklanov Tours Kuybyshev Region

LD1409202389 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stayed in the Kuybyshev region, Volga, between September 12-14.

Years of serious lagging behind in the social conditions, in which aircraft builders, metal workers, chemical industry workers and machine builders live and work, stand out in sharp contrast to the region's large and ever growing contribution to developing the national economy. Ways of rectifying this serious drawback figured prominently during meetings between the party Central Committee secretary and local population.

The region faces acute problems in food supply. Baklanov urged to stop relying on permanent donations. A radical improvement in food supplies can be attained by enhancing the yield of the country's agro-industrial complex and resolutely boosting the potential of market gardens run by factories.

One of the salient features of the Kuybyshev region is that it has quite a lot [of] defense plants. Together with some Soviet ministers and heads of other ministries and government agencies, the leaders of the region mapped out concrete measures to speed up the development of enterprises, which would lay more emphasis on the social sphere.

An overall agreement was reached on creating large associations and amalgamations on the basis of some defense enterprises situated in the region. Such concerns, the secretary stressed, are capable of sharply speeding up the rates of scientific and technical progress, to take the economy to [a] high level. Consequently, the industry will make a larger contribution to solving the social problems of the region, which looks forward to a transition to cost- accounting.

Two Involved in Novyy Uzen Violence Convicted

LD1509164189 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Guryev, Western Kazakhstan September 15 TASS—Two hoodlums have been convicted and sentenced to jail in the first two separate trials here following mass unrest in the city of Novyy Uzen in the middle of last June.

One of the condemned—Y. Mamykov, 22, from the town of Khodzheyli in the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Republic—was among those who started a brawl at the city's open-air disco on the evening of June 16.

He was also found guilty of several other instances of direct participation in disorders. Together with his cronies, Mamykov looted a lorry and smashed the windows of shops and kiosks.

Considering his repentance and the fact that he is a first-offender, he was sentenced to four years in a maximum-security corrective labour colony.

The other convict—K. Bisenov, 28, from the village of Kulsary in the Guryev region—contributed to stirring up enmity and tension during those June days, by shouting provocative slogans, insulting the militia and hurling rocks at them.

He was sentenced to three years in a maximum-security corrective labour colony.

KGB, Militia Arrest Counterfeiters

LD1509202289 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—Director of a building cooperative organisation, who approached the Ulyanovsk region department of the State Security Committee (KGB), made a statement that he was persecuted by a group of persons who systematically extorted from him large sums of money by violence and blackmail.

KGB agencies, assisted by militia, conducted on September 8 an operation to stop short the criminal activities of a group of racketeers. The armed criminals were arrested. Fire arms and a considerable sum of money, which belonged to the building cooperative organisation, were confiscated from them.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted. An investigation is under way.

A group of five persons, who made and circulated counterfeit U.S. dollars, were caught red-handed by Belorussian KGB organs in cooperation with the Belorussian Interior Ministry's agency to combat embezzlement of socialist property. Over 200 bonds for a sum exceeding 4,500 dollars were discovered and confiscated.

According to a pleliminary investigation, a cliche for counterfeit bonds, was made by a member of the group, an artist by profession. The criminals made several lots of counterfeit dollars which were realised to foreigners.

An investigation is under way.

Foreign Ministry Briefs Press on Ecological Issues

LD1509171989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep (TASS)—The ecological problems are no less acute in the Soviet Union than economic, interethnic or other problems. This point was emphasized at the press conference today in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center. Kakimbek Salyukov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet committee on issues of ecology and the rational utilization of natural resources, and his deputy, Aleksey Yablokov, spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists.

Speaking about the structure, tasks, and first steps of the committee, Kakimbek Salykov noted that the tense ecological situation in the country demanded that the most urgent nature protection measures, including legislation, be taken. In connection with this, preliminary readings of a national program and a law on protecting the environment are being conducted within the committee's framework. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography is preparing the first ecological map of the Soviet Union.

Commenting on the content of the national program, Kakimbek Salykov reported that it would contain a realistic evaluation of the ecological situation in various regions of the country as well as specific plans for resolving their ecological problems. A number of special commissions for resolving urgent ecological issues, like saving the Aral Sea, Lake Baykal and a study on the expediency of the construction of the Crimean Atomic Power Station, and others were also functioning within the framework of the committee. The committee's chairman emphasized the need to bring in Soviet legislation in accordance with ecological demands. In connection with this, one of the main tasks is the legislative consolidation of the provision on compulsory ecological examination before any plan for the construction of new enterprises is implemented and also on testing the ecological safety of those which already exist. This demand will also be made on joint enterprises with foreign firms being built in the USSR.

Bishop's Remains Returned to Cathedral

LD1709221589 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Voronezh September 18 TASS—Soviet believers honour the memory of Mitrofan (1623-1702), the first bishop of Voronezh. His relic was returned today to the intercession of the Holy Virgin Cathedral, the main temple of the Voronezh Eparchy (Central Russia), to the knell and church singing of believers.

Bishop Mitrofan, was known in Russian history as Peter the great's true associate. He assisted the tsar in his progressive changes, donated much money to his undertakings. The bishop took care of the needs of parishioners, was patron of widows and orphans and protected the miserable. His house was a shelter for pilgrims and a hospital for patients.

When bishop Mitrophan died, Peter the Great bore his coffin to the tome. Mitrofan was canonised in 1832. Militant atheists made a blasphemy in 1919, opening the bishop's tomb and exhibiting his relic at museums.

Icebreakers Fail To Clear Path for Ships

LD1509180589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The 3d month of the last Arctic navigation season of the nuclear-powered ship "Lenin" is coming to an end. Despite complex weather conditions on the route from Dikson to the Laptev Sea, the veteran ship is working to its full capacity. To date its sailors have taken part in the escort of more than 120 cargo vessels. However, despite the participation of the icebreakers "Sibir", "Lenin", "Taymyr", and "Murmansk", an attempt to escort a convoy of 10 river vessels to the east has failed so far. After covering 50 different ice-bound miles, the "Murmansk" then took them to the shelter of Mikhaylov Bay. After helping the rivermen to repair the damage caused by ice, the nuclear-powered "Lenin" has again set out on the northern sea route and has taken under escort a further cargo vessel carrying economic goods.

Economic

Inflationary Causes, Cures for Ruble Examined

PM1909091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "How Much Is the Ruble Worth?"]

[Text] According to official data, the emission of money (the release into circulation of money not backed by goods or services) during the first 6 months of this year amounted to R8.9 billion. Compared with the same period last year, this amount increased by one-third.

For a long time now, specialists have been saying that ruble-printing presses at the "Goznak" Factory have been working well above all the norms set for them. And so, the absolute amount of emission was published a few days ago. Almost R9 billion in 6 months, worth absolutely nothing in terms of either goods or services. Too much, far too much.... The figures testify that inflationary processes in our country are developing far too fast, and the ruble's devaluation is continuing....

Yes, emission is the twin sister of inflation, an infallible sign of an adverse state of affairs in the economy. But how is it to be avoided if the growth of commodity supply is slower than that of money supply? How else are people's wages, pensions, and subsidies to be paid? After all, for years on end now, revenues from the sale of goods and services (the so-called cash income) have been less than the total amount of money payments to the population. The information provided by the USSR State Committee for Statistics specifies in particular: The growth of money incomes during the first 6 months of this year was 1.4 times faster than the growth of money expenditures on the purchasing of goods and the payment for services. And if cash account revenues are insufficient, there is only one way out—switch on the printing press....

All economic process are interlinked and follow their own rigid logic. If there is more money than goods and demand for goods is unsatisfied, the price of goods goes up. Rising retail prices are an inevitable consequence of inflation and, in their turn, they stimulate inflation. This is eloquently confirmed by the results of our work during the first 6 months. The growth of retail trade turnover by approximately one-fourth or R4 billion was "secured" through rising prices. In other words, this increase was not represented by more actual goods—it was only prices that increased.

Is there any need to spell out the painful effect this process has on the living standards of millions of Soviet people? Especially of people living on so-called fixed incomes—pensioners, physicians, teachers, and so on.

Another of the most notable manifestations of inflation (and consequently of money emission) is the formation of so-called forced savings (or "deferred demand"). In plain language, when there is nothing to be bought with the rubles which have been paid out, they gather dust either in savings accounts or in "mattresses." Thus, deposits with the Savings Bank increased by R17.7 billion during the first 6 months of this year and reached the highly impressive amount of R314 billion.

A large proportion of this money is certainly not put aside for "a rainy day." We are talking about really forced savings. After all, this money today is, to all intents and purposes, not backed by any commodity stocks: There is only 27 kopeks' worth of commodity stocks for every R1 of these accumulations (the corresponding figure in 1985 was 44 kopeks)....

It is impossible to underestimate the danger of this phenomenon. The incentive to work is being lost. What is the point in working well if there is nowhere to spend the money earned as a result?

It is only natural to ask: How on earth did we end up in this state, why has such a colossal "scissor effect" developed between the growth of money payments to the population on the one hand, and goods and services on the other hand?

Let us look at specific facts. During the 6 months, commodity output increased by R15 billion (7.8 percent). Paid services went up by R3 billion (10.2 percent).

A total of R18 billion. And the population's money incomes increased by R28 billion over the same period!

Compare these figures, esteemed readers. The growth of goods and services is R10 billion behind the growth of money supply.... And emission amounts to almost R9 billion....

As you can see, there is another R1 billion floating somewhere in space—and for the time being nobody knows who is to blame for it....

We already know that the sources of inflation are diverse. And the main cause here is structural, the hypertrophied domination of the manufacture of means of production over the production of consumer goods. Coupled with the weak technical base of our Group "B."

But there are also a whole series of other causes which are directly associated with the effect of the currently prevailing economic mechanism. Alas, it has still not erected economic barriers to block "never-ending construction projects" and the growth of "work in hand," with a sizeable proportion of their prime costs being represented by the payment of wages which are still not backed by finished construction work.

Unfortunately, the prevailing economic mechanism does not erect any barriers to block the buildup of supernormative stocks in production. Finally, it still does not ensure the rigid and economically extremely necessary dependence of the growth of enterprise and individual workers' incomes on the end results produced by them.

Of course, at this point one ought to ask the follow-up question: Is it all that complicated to introduce in the economic mechanism one more block to regulate the correlation between wages and labor productivity?

It is very complicated. And, in the opinion of many economists, unnecessary. In any event, the resolution on wages fund taxation now adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet is perceived by many production workers essentially as a wage freeze, even though everyone is fully aware that this is an exceptional, forced, and temporary measure.

But what next?

Every serious person is clearly aware: The current problems in our national economy cannot be solved by any restrictions, bans, or obstacles. There is just one sensible way: Incentives instead of restrictions. Encouragement of the types of activity the lack of which produces the acute shortages experienced by our society.

According to preliminary estimates, retail trade turnover in 1990 ought to reach R435 billion. In other words, to increase by at least R40 billion compared with this year. (For comparison purposes: Trade turnover in our country increased by an average of R15 billion over the previous 4 years.)

Specialists estimate that such an increase in trade turnover next year will be sufficient to balance the population's money income and expenditure. But let us face up to the truth: We have set ourselves an extremely complex task. It can be resolved only subject to collaboration between all forms of economic activity—the state and the cooperative sectors. Subject to emergency introduction of new property relations in life. Subject to approval and prompt implementation of all the new laws which the next USSR Supreme Soviet session is due to examine.

Rail Meeting To Focus on Socio-Economic Issues

18290286 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
12 Sep 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Ministry of Railways and the Central Committee of the Trade Union"]

[Text] The Ministry of Railways and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Railway Transportation and Transportation Construction Employees have resolved:

To convene the All-Union Conference of Railway Employees in November 1989 in Moscow, in the Central House of Culture of Railroad Employees.

The number of participants in the conference and guests will be 800 persons. The conference will last 4 days (the date of convening the conference will be communicated separately).

It has been resolved to discuss at the conference the report of USSR Minister of Railways N.S. Konarev "On Measures for Improving the Operation and Accelerating the Socio-Economic Development of Railway Transportation in the Environment of Perestroyka" and to work out relevant undertakings and concepts.

The following sections will operate at the meeting:

On the social development of railway transportation, training, and indoctrination of cadres (chaired by L.I. Pingarev and L.B. Titova).

On the organization of traffic, freight and commercial operations, and automation of the transportation process (chaired by G.M. Fadeyev and V.S. Arkatov).

On the organization of passenger transportation and improvements in services to passengers at terminals, on trains, and in subways (chaired by V.N. Ginko).

On the organization of repairs and routine maintenance of the tracks, design work, and construction (chaired by N.K. Isingarin, N.F. Mitin, and N.P. Grom).

On the organization of repairs and technical servicing of the rolling stock and power supply installations (chaired by B.D. Nikiforov and G.M. Korenko).

On traffic safety (chaired by G.I. Kozlov).

On streamlining the economic mechanism and management (chaired by V.N. Butko, N.S. Nikitin, V.F. Pryadko).

With a view to a broader discussion of the issues under consideration and the development of resolutions, it is envisaged that up to 400 railway transportation experts and workers will be invited in addition. The sections will work on the second and third days of the conference.

The composition of the organizational committee for preparing and holding the All-Union Conference of Railway Employees has been confirmed (chairman of the organizational committee—First Deputy Minister V.N. Ginko, deputy chairmen—Deputy Ministers V.N. Butko, L.I. Pingarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the trade union V.S. Myshenkov), as well as the plan of preparations for the conference. With a view to timely and high-quality preparation of materials for the All-Union Conference of Railway Employees, relevant managers have been entrusted with working out and submitting proposals for the draft resolution on improvements in the operation and acceleration of socio-economic development of railway transportation in the environment of perestroyka with the participation of a broad circle of railway employees in keeping with the topical scope of sections. In the process, special attention needs to be paid to developing measures aimed at accelerating the scientific-technical progress, introducing progressive technologies, advanced experience, and economic methods of operations, streamlining management, and creating proper conditions for the work and life of railway employees.

It has been resolved to organize a broad-scale demonstration of new equipment and progressive technology, advanced production experience, efficient arrangements in labor and management organization, and social development of collectives at the Experimental Loop of the VNIIZhT [All-Union Research Institute of Railway Transportation].

In the course of preparations for the All-Union Conference of Railway Employees, it is necessary to prompt the labor collectives everywhere to search for and utilize the reserves in production, develop creative initiatives, eliminate bottlenecks in operations, improve the quality and efficiency of production processes in every way, and fulfill the quotas of the 1989 plan.

It has been recommended that the editorial offices of the newspaper GUDOK and transportation magazines, press-center of the Ministry of Railways, and editorial offices of railroad newspapers extensively report on the course of preparation for, and the work of, the All-Union Conference of Railway Employees, and publish proposals aimed at improving the operation of the industry and conditions of work and life of its employees.

Buying Cards Required for Visitors to Latvia

LD1509145889 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Riga September 15 TASS—By TASS correspondents Valeriy Biryukov and Vyacheslav Zenkovich:

Shopping for food or industrial goods may prove a problem for people coming to Soviet Latvia, unless they pay 70 rubles on the black market to buy a so-called "visiting card", issued to the residents of the republic. Without it those now resident in Latvia would not be able to buy many goods, most of which, incidentally, are produced outside Latvia.

"The fact is that our planned economy distributes goods in the country depending on the population of a republic without taking account of those who come to it. Last Year, for example, they took out of Latvia nearly 700 million rubles' worth of industrial goods and foodstuffs. To protect the rights of their consumers, local authorities were forced to make that step. Of course, this is a temporary measure. Once the market is saturated, it will be abolished."

Local residents are quite satisfied. "Their advantages are undoubted: We are saving time," university student Janis Rubenis says. "But I feel uneasy about it: What about traditional Latvian hospitality?"

"This is simply local currency, like the notorious lat, advocated by some radical economists," says Grigoriy Mikulov, who came from Sverdlovsk on business. "People who arrive here are second grade: shops are only 'for local people'."

"I don't think the situation should be dramatized in this way," comments Anatoliy Gorbunov, president of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. "Guests are only stopped from buying goods in short supply. However I agree that the visiting card scheme is not the best way of satisfying the demand. All this is the consequence of shortages, which should be rectified by building by production capacities. Hopefully, radical economic measures will help, including the transition of Latvia and other republics to regional cost-accounting."

Agricultural

Ligachev Tours Kirghizia Agricultural Sectors

PM1509144389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Sojourn in Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Central Asia is a unique area of our country. The natural and climatic conditions make it possible to grow large volumes of agricultural products and keep the populace well supplied with food. During his stay in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU

Central Committee, together with the leaders of the republic and Communists, examined the party organizations' work in implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum. At collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes], and processing enterprises one is aware of the new elements in rural life—they are mastering economic methods of management: leasing, contracts, economic accountability, production sharing. Field and livestock unit productivity is markedly increasing in the republic. The grain corn yield is around 70 quintals per hectare and the milk yield 3,200 kilograms per cow. But, it was noted, there are still many untapped reserves and real opportunities for improving food supplies for the populace.

Sokulukskiy Rayon is rightly proud of its master livestock raisers who obtain high milk yields. Grain corn and soybean are grown there. Production efficiency indicators are particularly high at the kolkhoz named for the 21st party congress. Kolkhoz chairman A.V. Pak said that successful economic activity is based on three main factors: intrafarm economic accountability, collaboration with scientists, and the creation of good working and living conditions for the kolkhoz members.

Ye.K. Ligachev took an interest in the methods of labor organization and the incentives, stressing that primary production components must have real independence. The CPSU Central Committee secretary rated highly the work on improving labor and living conditions for livestock raisers. Concern for people is always repaid with interest.

During a visit to the Alamedin fur and pelt association there was a discussion of questions connected with the processing and complete utilization of sheepskins. It was stressed that hundreds of thousands of skins have until recently been wasted—and they still do go to waste. These problems are a worry for the farmers who are losing valuable raw material, and for people who want to have warm fur coats and leather jackets. The association's leaders and workers have complained to the machine building ministries and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, which are failing to provide the fur workers with highly productive, reliable equipmment.

It was suggested that the dressing of sheepskins on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and at consumer cooperatives, local industry, and consumer services enterprises should be practiced more widely. This will provide opportunities for the fuller utilization of the raw material, avoid the state enterprise processing monopoly, and meet the population's demand for scarce goods more swiftly.

During the visits to the "Alga" Kolkhoz in Kantskiy Rayon and the Frunze Kolkhoz in Kara-Suyskiy Rayon, the CPSU Central Committee secretary familiarized himself with the progress made in constructing housing, schools, and intrafarm roads, and with the work of medical institutions and trade and consumer service enterprises. There was a conversation with L. Abduraimova's Communist Youth League [Komsomol] youth team, which is obtaining more than 100 quintals of corn grain per hectare. There was a discussion about young people's participation in perestroyka and about involving them in tackling specific matters, big and small. The Komsomol working people noted that the Komsomol's efforts must be focused on this above all.

At the Osh Oblast Union of Consumer Cooperatives interrayon depot, Ye.K. Ligachev familiarized himself with the work of the food packaging shop. The depot specialists have set up an assembly line which can pack 35 tonnes of food per day. This not only makes the sales staff's work easier but considerably reduces product losses.

The meetings and conversations with agro-industrial complex collectives, the progress made in the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions, and specialists' calculations showed that Kirghizia possesses the necessary potential to ensure maxiumum satisfaction of the populace's food requirements via its own production and to increase supplies to all-union stocks. The republic's party organization and working people in villages and cities must work hard to carry out this task.

Ye.K. Ligachev had a warm conversation with party, labor, and war veterans in which A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, and T. Akmatov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, participated.

Hero of the Soviet Union K. Usenbekov, chairman of the republican veterans council, and other worthy citizens talked about their public work and their everyday concerns and offered their observations on many questions of our society's life. They urged a firmer course of perestroyka and renewal of society, stronger party unity, and a struggle against attempts to weaken the foundations of socialism.

Ye.K. Ligachev visited the branch of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum and the M.V. Frunze Museum. He laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin in the republic's capital.

At numerous meetings and conversations the inhabitants of cities and villages in the republic raised issues connected with interethnic relations and the state of labor discipline and public order in the country and in individual regions. Acute concern was expressed in connection with the fact that some central media often treat our country's history and the present state of affairs in society in a one-sided manner. There was indignation at the fact that some Communists are involved in antisocialist and nationalist formations.

Krylov Outlines Harvest Shipment Difficulties

18290281 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
13 Sep 89 p 1

[Report on interview with V. Krylov, deputy chief, Ministry of Railways Freight Shipment Planning Administration, by V. Chibisov: "Where The Watermelons Got Stuck"; place, date not specified]

[Text]**September and October are peak months for shipping fruits and vegetables. The editorial board is swamped with letters and telegrams from refrigerator car workers: We are standing idle while cars are being unloaded; they do not move along the line, the bases refuse to receive them, etc. The freight shippers are indignant—there are no cars. Will the supply of perishables fall into the same situation as the grain shipments—the railroad workers were not up to transporting the unprecedented harvest in the European part of the country.**

We asked these questions of V. Krylov, deputy chief, MPS [Ministry of Railways] Freight Shipment Planning Administration.

[Krylov] The situation is already alarming. Just take Moscow. First and foremost, we provide everything they announce. But even before the mass arrival of produce, the city's fruit and vegetable associations were unprepared to receive it. In August, with an average daily presentation of 336 cars for unloading only 196 cars were emptied. On 3 September, 244 of 434 cars were unloaded. Loads of melons, onions, and potatoes have been expected for weeks. Over 7 months, the car idle time for the Mosplodoovoshchprom [Moscow fruit and vegetable industry] enterprises was 7.96 hours, while the norm is 2.31 hours.

[Chibisov] I seem to recall that at the beginning of the summer, more than 500 cars with meat stood too long around the city, even though the store counters are hardly overflowing with this product... Is this situation being repeated?

[Krylov] Yes, not much has changed. The efficiency of the meat combines is cause for alarm. Over 100 cars accumulated here. One can judge the pace of unloading by the Krasnogvardeyskiy meat combine. The refrigerator section they have there holds the record, with idling since...8 August....

[Chibisov] But overall, what is the picture like in the country?

[Krylov] It is anticipated that 1,800 refrigerator cars will be unloaded, with 529 held by the Ministry of Trade and 562 by the State Agricultural Industry enterprises. Some 138 cars with fruit and vegetable products are standing idle in Murmansk. There, they empty 50 per day.

And this is where attention should be directed. The refrigerated rolling stock is specialized. But on a number of railroads, it is not laden with the right things. So, on the Moldavian Railroad, during fruit and vegetable shipping season, they are frequently filled with wine and sugar.... A complicated situation has come about with the transport of containerized foods, since the covered cars were given over primarily to the tomatoes. In order to somehow relieve the situation, we gathered about 150 insulated tank cars from the entire network, and sent them to the republic, on the condition the they be loaded only with containerized foods. Each group of cars must carry them only on their own railroad of registry. If 10 insulated tank cars came from the Far Eastern Railroad, they must return there with the cargo. And what do we see: Cars from the Tselina Railroad brought cigarettes to the Southern Ural Railroad.

Once can gather quite a few such examples. That is, we ourselves elicit the rebukes of the freight shippers, by not using cars according to their designation.

[Chibisov] Since you have turned the criticism toward yourself, let us cover the sore points.

[Krylov] Above all, the Astrakhan Division of the Volga Area Railroad. Even though they loaded an average of over 2,800 cars with a plan of 1,705, complaints still come in. In the last 5-day period of the month, in certain rayons of Astrakhan Oblast, the demand for rolling stock exceeded the plan four-fold. The unlading of covered cars is extremely poorly organized, especially in Saratov, Volgograd, and Astrakhan oblasts. The MPS took rapid measures to supply the Volga Railroad with covered cars. By 1 September, the demands had been met completely. But.... It turned out that there is no one to load those same watermelons. The labor shortage is cited. Over the last 4 days, there was the opportunity to fill 850 cars, and only 370 cars were done.

On the Moldavian Railroad, the situation is strained in connection with not only the railroad workers' strikes, but those of the produce shippers as well. Shipment there has now declined two or three-fold by comparison to normal days.

There are complications with the shipment of watermelons from Tashkent and Syrdarya Oblasts of Uzbekistan. Again, there are not enough covered cars. The Alma-Ata Railroad lets us down—on a daily basis, up to 100 units of rolling stock are not supplied.

[Chibisov] Judging by the current state of the fruit and vegetable conveyer, it cannot be excluded that for the railroad workers, the situation that came about with grain shipments may be repeated?

[Krylov] It is possible that our contractors have such an attitude. For our part, we are doing everything to fully ensure produce delivery.

Goskomstat Cites August Agricultural Statistics

18240238 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by N. Osychkin: "Autumn Is a Severe Test"]

[Text] **The editorial office has received the latest data of the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] on the progress of field operations in the country's kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms].**

- **—By 28 August, grain and leguminous crops (without corn) were cut on 79.9 million hectares and threshed on 76.5 hectares. This is 72 percent of the crops.**
- **—The past week showed an increase of fully harvested area of 12.1 million hectares, which is 1.2 million more than for the previous 7-day period. The progress of work in many places is being held up by rainy weather.**
- **—Inclement weather requires that farm managers, specialists, and tenants take efficient actions that are directed at skillful maneuvering of equipment and the prevention of losses of grain and other products.**

And so the first calendar day of autumn has arrived. For the farmers and all of the workers of the agroindustrial complex, this is the most difficult, intense, and responsible period. Agricultural crops will have to be harvested over large areas, products will have to be processed, sufficient supplies of foodstuffs will have to be established for winter, and a firm foundation will have to be set for the future harvest. In the meantime, September weather has turned out to be cool, rainy, and with evening frosts. In a word, every hour is now dear. Delay in the harvest threatens losses and a shortage of foodstuffs and raw materials for the state.

The main direction of the autumn harvest these days is beyond the Urals—in Siberia and Kazakhstan, where many areas suffered seriously from a drought. To overcome the difficulties, the farmers are doing everything possible to gather everything completely that has been grown in the fields, and to replenish the food and fodder stores. The roar of motors in the Altay steppes does not stop night or day. Grain crops were harvested here on more than 2.3 million hectares, and threshed on 1.6 million, which is more than 40 percent of the crops. The kray farms poured more than a half million metric tons into the granaries of the state. The order for the delivery of rye has been fulfilled, and now wheat is being realized which is distinguished for its bakery qualities. Grains of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Sovetskiy, Tretyakovskiy, Zmeinogorskiy, Tyumentsevskiy, and a number of other rayons are being aggressively realized. Substantial help is being given the farms by city workers and settlement workers of the kray, by drivers of military units, and also by workers from Moscow, Gorkiy, Perm, and Sverdlovsk.

The pace of work is accelerating in the Orenburg, Kemerovo, and Novosibirsk oblasts. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the farms of the East-Siberian economic area. Up until now not even 5 percent of the crops have been threshed there. Sluggishness is being permitted in Irkutsk Oblast, where grain output is now respectable, surpassing last year's level noticeably. By eliminating losses, farms of Krasnoyarskiy Kray, the Buryat ASSR, and Chita Oblast can raise the grain harvest.

In Kazakhstan, the threshing of grain is being conducted on 13 million hectares. The drought here caused a noticeable harvest loss. However, the farms are taking measures so that not one quintal of wheat and barley is left in the fields, and they are doing everything possible for threshing thinned out and low-growing crops.

But while in the eastern regions the harvest has just begun and the machine operators are trying to gather the grains before cold sets in, this cannot be said of a number of areas of the Russian non-black earth zone. The harvest has been going on for a month now; however, no end can be seen to it in some places. In the Kalinin, Kostroma, Smolensk, Yaroslavl, and Vologda Oblasts one-fourth of the harvest of grain crops is still standing, and in the Ivanovo and Kirov Oblasts, one-fifth is still standing. The farmers here cannot complain about poor weather, there were enough sunny days in the summer, and there will be sunny days in September. The reasons for the work delays are poor use of equipment, violations of work and technological discipline, and an underestimation of the principles of material incentives. Time is not waiting. The spillage of grain and spoilage of potatoes or vegetables cannot be permitted even on one hectare!

Acceleration of autumn work in the field should be promoted by increased deliveries to the village of material and technical supplies. Meanwhile, obstructions are occurring in this matter in one or another place. In the Altayskiy, Krasnoyarskiy, and Primorskiy Krays, and the Kuybyshev, Volgograd, Kemerovo, and Novosibirsk Oblasts, fuel arrives after considerable stoppages. In August, just for the farms of northern Kazakhstan, there was a failure to deliver 11,000 metric tons of gasoline and 36,000 metric tons of diesel fuel as scheduled, and the total for the republics was 82,000 and 192,000 metric tons, respectively. As previously, there was a shortage of collar pins and segments of cutter bars for combines. Many grain-cleaning and drying machines are standing idly at threshing floors and elevators because of a lack of brushes, screens, and electric motors. There is a shortage of 2,000 sets of tires for ZIL and KamAZ motor vehicles. In Odessa Oblast alone, 2,500 freight trucks are standing without tires. And they are so badly needed now for the transport of grain, fodder, vegetables, and fruit. A lot has been written about the breakdown in deliveries for villages of material-technical supplies, and the names of those responsible were given. But, still, the specific parties to blame could not be made accountable. Perhaps it is not too late to do this?

But no matter what happens, the farmers of many areas are sustaining the assigned rhythm of harvesting and other operations of the field conveyer. Somewhat more grain has been gathered and readied across the country than in September of last year. State orders for the sale of crops were fulfilled by farms of Belorussia, and dozens of oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and six in the Ukraine. In addition to those mentioned previously in SELSKAYA ZHIZN, kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Belgorod and Moscow Oblasts were able to cope with the state orders, and the Ryazan farms came close. There was a report yesterday that 2 million metric tons of grain were offloaded into elevators of the Volgograd grain growers. The food stores of the state received 8.1 million metric tons of rye—95 percent of the state order. Up until the present, 56 percent of the order of wheat has been provided. There has been very little preparation of buckwheat, millet, peas, and oats, which, I think, will get a lot of attention both locally and in the center—the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foodstuffs and Purchases. Because store shelves should be models not only of quantity, but also of a wide assortment of food products.

All kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been called on to the extent possible to take an active part in the sale of agricultural products to the state. The state stimulates this process economically in every way possible. For the realization of above-plan grain of a high quality, return trade in machines and materials in especially short supply is being organized. Select wheat, oil-bearing seeds, and other products that are delivered to elevators under certain circumstances can be paid for to farms with hard currency. But farm managers do not yet know what the conditions will be, and what, where, and at what price it can be acquired as proceeds. Are months really needed to give explanations locally? Because we are in autumn, and the sale of grain is being artificially delayed, which cannot help but damage the state. I think that our associations and foreign firms are being late with information and advertising of those commodities and technologies that they can offer Soviet kolkhozes and sovkhozes that acquire currency.

In autumn a lot of work piles up in the fields. And it is all pressing. Corn growers have already come to the plantations. The ripe cobs have been picked from the first dozens of thousands of hectares. It is important to leave the best tracts for these purposes, to harvest them without losses, and thereby to replenish the grain and fodder stores of the country. Farms of Uzbekistan, for example, plan to receive 209,000 metric tons of corn grain. There are also reserves in other places.

Long-stalked flax has been removed now from 636,000 hectares. There is a particular delay in this matter in Smolensk Oblast, which occupies an important place in the RSFSR in the production of flax. Only one-third of the crops has been pulled out of Kaluga farms, and a half, from the Pskov farms. The chimneys of the sugar refineries of the Kuban have begun to emit smoke. The harvest of root crops grown here is excellent, but time is needed for its processing. In other regions they are waiting for the second half of September. The root crops are still taking on weight and are accumulating sugar. In the Russian Federation potatoes have now been dug up on 60,000 hectares—6.3 percent of the sowed area. Meanwhile, time is not waiting. It is time to begin a mass harvest. Vegetables in the republic were gathered in 22 percent of the harvest areas. And they are urgently "begging" to be put into storehouses and on consumer tables.

The weather in many areas is favorable to laying the foundation for a good harvest for the next year. Winter crops are sown on 11 million hectares. Shoots have turned green rapidly. The sowing front has approached the Lower Volga, the north Caucasus, and the Ukraine—the main producers of wheat. But it is still hot and dry there. Maybe the approaching rains will moisten the soil.... There has to be an acceleration in autumn ploughing for spring sowing. Only 18 million hectares have been readied for spring sowing. This is much less than last year.

Autumn is moving on quickly. It holds those who are slow with their field work to strict account.

Scientific

More on Biological Experiments of Latest 'Cosmos'

LD1509162689 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

Two monkeys were launched into space Friday on a 14-day mission on board the biological satellite "Cosmos-2044". The capsule also carries rats, fishes, tritons, flies, ants and worms.

A number of biological experiments will be carried out. Taking part in the experiments along with Soviet specialists are scientists from Hungary, the GDR, Canada, Poland, Romania, the United States, France, Czechoslovakia and the European Space Agency.

The purpose of the experiments is to study the effects of prolonged stay in space on living organisms. Scientists are looking for effective measures to prevent ill effects of zero gravity on man. They are interested particularly in establishing how a living organism is adjusted to zero gravity in the first days of the flight.

Experiments with rats designed by staffers of the Moscow institute of medico-biological problems of the USSR Health Ministry are of much interest. Scientists will trace how fractures and traumas heal in weightlessness.

The effects of space radiation on living organisms will also be studied during the flight. This problem is particularly acute as the duration of manned space flights increases.

Today's launch of the biological satellite develops the international programme that was started in 1973. This is the ninth such satellite. The previous three also carried monkeys.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Conduct Various Experiments

LD1909100389 Moscow TASS in English 0946 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent at mission control centre:

Soviet Cosmonauts Aleksander Viktorenko and Aleksander Serebrov, at the end of their second week in orbit, performed the first experiment in space materials studies, involving an installation codenamed Gallar, today.

It aimed to produce a silicon-based semi-conductor material in microgravity for use in microelectronics.

In addition, the cosmonauts, manning the Mir orbital station, took readings of high-energy elementary charged particle flows in near-earth space, using the Maria magnetic spectrometer, as part of their astrophysics research programme.

They are also to replace a storage battery in the power supply system in keeping with their maintenance schedule today.

In the afternoon the cosmonauts will undergo a medical check, including a study of their cardio-vascular systems with multifunctional recording equipment called Gamma.

According to the cosmonauts' reports and telemetry data, Mir's flight is proceeding as normal and Viktorenko and Serebrov are in good health and feeling well.

Military

Tank Troops' Day Celebrated With Moscow Ceremony

Yazov Issues Order of Day

PM1509135589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister's Order of the Day No 316]

[Text] USSR Minister of Defense Order of the Day No. 316, 10 September 1987, Moscow

Comrade tank crewmen and tank builders!
Tank troop veterans!

Our country and its Armed Forces are today celebrating Tank Troops' Day.

This holiday comes at a time when the processes of perestroyka and renewal of all spheres in the life of our society are assuming ever-increasing scope and depth. Soviet people's political and labor activeness in implementing the revolutionary transformations mapped out by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is increasing. Large-scale measures are being implemented to create a rule-of-law state, enhance working people's standard of living, and strengthen the international cohesion of the Soviet peoples.

International tension has declined considerably and a reduction in nuclear arsenals has been initiated as a result of the implementation of the principles of the new political thinking. At the same time, the positive processes in the world have still not become irreversible.

In this situation, true to their patriotic duty, tank troops are channeling their efforts into comprehensively enhancing their vigilance and combat readiness and are making a worthy contribution to strengthening the country's defense capability on the basis of qualitative parameters of military construction.

I greet and congratulate you on your holiday—Tank Troops' Day!

I wish tank troop personnel further successes in combat and political training. I express the conviction that tank troops will by virtue of their selfless martial labor continue to persistently strengthen the defense of our homeland, boldly and purposefully assert the ideas of perestroyka and all the progressive innovations born of troop practice, resolutely overcome negative phenomena in the life of service collectives, and strengthen troop discipline and organization.

I wish defense industry workers successes in their work, in boosting the quality of output, and improving production and economic indicators.

I wish tank troop veterans good health and success in their noble work of providing military-patriotic education for the rising generation.

To mark Tank Troops' Day I ORDER:

That festive firework displays be held today, 10 September 1989, at 2200 hours local time, in the hero-city of Moscow, capital of our motherland, in the capitals of the union republics, in the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, and in the hero-fortress of Brest.

Long live our great motherland—the USSR!

Glory to the USSR Armed Forces and their valiant tank troops!

Long live the CPSU—initiator and militant vanguard of perestroyka!

Army General D. Yazov, USSR Defense Minister

Military Officials Attend Ceremony

PM1509145389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

["Our Correspondent" report: "In Honor of Holiday"]

[Text] A ceremony attended by representatives of Moscow's public and servicemen from the capital's garrison was held 8 September in the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army to mark Tank Troops' Day.

The following were in the presidium: Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General V.I. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General V.M. Arkhipov; Colonel General Yu.A. Yashin; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, leader of a group of USSR Defense Ministry general inspectors; Army General I.N. Shkadov, military inspector and adviser to a group of USSR Defense Ministry general inspectors; N.I. Shlyaga, head of a CPSU Central Committee sector; V.I. Kuznetsov, secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee; tank troop veterans; tank builders; and representatives of Soviet organs, public organizations, and labor and troop collectives.

The meeting was opened by Colonel General A.A. Galkin, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Main Armored Directorate. The following greeted the Tank Troops: V.F. Usubov, milling machine operator at a motor research institute experimental production sector; O.A. Zapertov, chairman of the All-Union Association of Councils of Reservists, Internationalist Soldiers, and Young People's Defense-Patriotic Associations; A.M. Rychkov, first deputy chief of a USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry Main Administration.

Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander in chief of Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, delivered a speech at the meeting.